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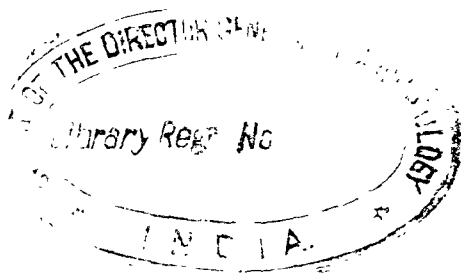
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OUR OWN RELIGION IN ANCIENT
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OUR OWN RELIGION IN ANCIENT PERSIA

1913

AVESTA ESCHATOLOGY
COMPARED WITH THE BOOKS
OF DANIEL AND REVELATIONS

1908

BY

PROFESSOR MILLS



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OUR OWN RELIGION IN ANCIENT PERSIA

BEING LECTURES DELIVERED IN OXFORD
PRESENTING THE ZEND AVESTA AS
COLLATED WITH THE PRE-CHRISTIAN
EXILIC PHARISAISM, ADVANCING THE
PERSIAN QUESTION TO THE FOREMOST
POSITION IN OUR BIBLICAL RESEARCH

BY

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COLLATION OF ALL MSS. IN Z.D.M.G. TRANSLATED IN J.R.A.S.

AUTHOR OF "THE FIVE ZARATHUSHTRIAN GĀTHAS"

OF A SECOND EDITION OF THE SAME IN ENGLISH VERBATIM AND FREE METRICAL

AUTHOR OF "ZARATHUSHTRA PHILO THE ACHÆMENIDS AND ISRAEL"

OF "THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE AVESTA COMPARED WITH DANIEL AND REVELATIONS"

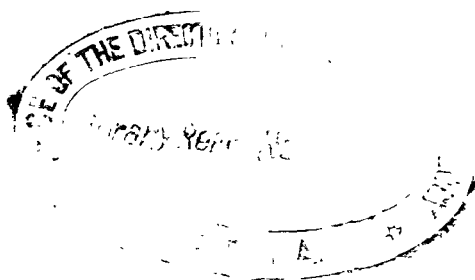
OF "YASNA I. WITH THE AVESTA PAHLAVI PERSIAN AND SANSKRIT TEXTS

AND WITH THE AUTHOR'S SANSKRIT EQUIVALENT"

OF "THE SANSKRIT EQUIVALENT OF YASNA XXVIII XXIX XLIV (Z.D.M.G.)"

OF "A DICTIONARY OF THE GĀTHIC LANGUAGE OF THE ZEND AVESTA"

BEING VOL. III. OF "THE FIVE ZARATHUSHTRIAN GĀTHAS" ETC.



To be had of F. A. Brockhaus in Leipzig

1913

P R E F A C E.

THIS collection of separate University Lectures here brought together under one cover, hardly needs any introductory statements, for I have been obliged to explain in the course of editing them particulars usually reserved to a preface.

I have been especially careful to forestall any criticism on the part of my readers in regard to the unavoidable repetitions. Sometimes years have passed between the occasions upon which the several treatises have been delivered, and I could not eliminate all allusion to previously stated facts without tearing the lectures to pieces. Moreover, some of them have been read aloud to audiences in Bombay, and this mode of extending my teaching may be repeated, in which case the connection of thought between the lectures will not be so apparent, and the disfigurement of repetition will disappear. Yet while apologising for such occasional redundancy, I must add that I endeavour to increase the directness of the pointing, and also to expand the issues at every recurrence.

There are, however, several interior considerations in the treatment of the subject of which large numbers of my readers may have had no opportunity whatever to become aware, nor of what I have endeavoured to do to meet the obligations which rest upon me with regard to them.

Without meaning to be in the smallest degree irresponsible, some scholars may well share in that general apathy upon these subjects which it is the one object of these pieces to dispel,—for I wish above everything to

arouse and fix attention upon these matters as being of paramount and immediate interest. The epoch-making chain of ideas lies clearly before us in the chapters ;—and if they are not astonishing, then I have failed in my effort to express myself, or else the susceptibility of my public is at fault.

My 'opposition' may object that by my own showing we possess these doctrines now ;—and they may ask : ' where is the use of reviving their historical origin ' ;—we are, moreover, ' used ' to them. I answer that this latter in one sense of it is not the fact ;—our long-standing indifference is not the result of a real familiarity. We need these discussions now to dispel our sinful inattention.* Take what I regard as the finest product of the entire system, next after, or next before, the beautiful thought of the ' Attributes ' as the ' Archangels ' ;—I refer to the ' subjective recompense ' ;—how many myriads of refined disciples need just such relief as this doctrine offers, namely, the view that both Heaven and Hell lie chiefly within ourselves ? It is nothing less than splendid as an intellectual result, making Avesta far and away the deepest and most refined lore of all equal antiquity ;—for the Avesta is the ' document ' of such a necessary thought—that is to say, its first full presentation in the history of religious distinctions. Where has even the early Bible anything to compare with it ? † It is now widespread, of course, among the more enlightened of the clergy, but I very greatly doubt whether the main body of the laity feel it as they should. The threats of a flaming Hell may be

* What right have we to neglect matters which concern not only the past record of our own spiritual development but its present healthfulness ?

† It was directly in connection with this crucial characteristic that an incident occurred which greatly surprised and charmed me. Having come into contact with a group of young academic Frenchmen, my son lent a copy of my Gāthas to one of them. On returning the book, the reader cited with much interest Yasna 46, where the souls of the evil are their own executioners. Out of all the 650 pages the keen-sighted young Parisian instantly fixed his attention upon this.

more effective toward the embruted masses, but the time has surely come when every human being should be forced to understand that his good or evil thoughts, words, and deeds are actually preparing and moulding his eternal future destiny ;—that they constitute the very quintessence of Heaven or Hell ;—and they will surely bring their own reward or their own revenge, as being the central element in the ‘great assize’ and the ‘last sentence.’*

But we have our ‘opposition,’ some of whom may be honestly alarmed at the distraction of attention from the primary question of ‘conversion’† and the long-established views which tend to bring it on, while others care only for the academical prominence of their personal studies. Their first tactics might be these :—while acceding at once to the undeniable identities between the chief doctrines of the Avesta and the Exilic Bible, they might retort that there has been ‘no historical connection between them.’ But this is exactly the grandest assertion which could possibly be made in the entire connection. If the identities exist without ‘historical connection,’ then they arose spontaneously, irresistibly, and inevitably from the instincts of universal human nature—a proposition which takes its place among the very highest themes in a serious psychology and natural philosophy.‡ The history of the human soul is acutely involved. If this absence of historical connection can be accepted, we have here the one paramount curiosity of all religious literature, so par-eminence—a truly magnificent fact, deeply touching us at every moral fibre. I call upon all labourers in this field to fix their attention closely upon it, and to pursue it exhaustively as a matter of urgent duty.

The second device, whether honestly presented or not,

* Not only does the Avesta preserve the first effective application of these vital opinions, but we actually need Avesta to-day to enforce them upon us. We are not at all so fully ‘used’ to them as we suppose,—far from it.

† And with this alarm I have full sympathy : see the Second Lecture.

‡ See *Zarathushtra, Philo, the Achæmenids, and Israel*, 1905-6, vol. i.

is to accede again to the identities, but ascribe them to the influence of Judaism upon Persia. Here again we have something as startling in the way of propaganda as the other was important as an element in the original development of man from an inferior condition,—and it is difficult to decide which of the two is the most interesting. If the Jews taught all Persia the illustrious catalogue, this not only shows what the Jews believed during the time that they were Persian citizens, but it presents a result of religious propagation beyond conception for all time, ancient or modern. What ardent missionary will not kindle with enthusiasm over such an opinion? Israel was then in that case not only stated to be, but proved to be, ‘a light to lighten the Gentiles,’ with results incalculable;—how can religious teachers venture to neglect such a thing?*

While upon a third hypothesis, I do not know what they would like to say. To accede to the identities, and acknowledge that they all come from Persia, would be to avow a debt of religious gratitude which according to one view involves our everlasting salvation;—recall the turmoil of the Pharisees in the riot reported in Acts xxiii when St. Paul appealed to their sentiment in this matter of the resurrection;—see the author of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, where he rests our very salvation upon that article of the Creed.

No self-respecting historian could conceal such a theme for a moment if he were really aware of its existence;—while my own theory leaves it almost equally imperative. For if the Persian creed helped on, defended, and encouraged—perhaps saved—the Jewish which was original with the Captives, this was in its turn a momentous and an effective reality. Whichever view we take of it, the system of eschatological ideas, whether studied in connection

* If the vast Persian Empire was taught futurity by a handful of inspired captives, surely this was a religious result unequalled in ‘missionary’ records.

with Judah or not, is in a good sense of it sensational to the last degree ;—to neglect it would be folly, to suppress it would be crime. Scores of seminaries of religious learning are touching upon the subject every year ;—let them now dwell upon it and search it well as a prime duty, for by universal verdict it involves the history of all moral life in man. Even literary persons bereft of all immediate interest in theology do not fulfil their scope of enterprise until they examine this most striking of all literary rarities.

What I have to say as to the identities of the Avesta and the Veda is in the same general line, though of course to us at least the interests involved in Avesta are incredibly more acute than any which concern the Veda. Yet as Avesta and Veda are but parts of one and the same original lore, Veda itself has some share in the great propaganda. Though upon the view that it was Israel who taught Persia her eschatology, we can hardly see how Israel could have imparted that same eschatology to the still more distant Indians with whom she had no such connection as she had with Persia.

My policy in view of my 'opposition' has been two-fold, or rather it has been one single policy in two branches. I have been compelled to be both comprehensive and then impartial (see my chapter on Avesta's history). I have represented nearly every serious exegetical possibility, ancient or modern, with my own opinions independent of each. Though I have met with some small combinations who will not let me even agree with their own teachers, their falsifying is so irresponsible that it does little harm ;—I warn all readers of their petty irregularity (see Chapter XI.), while I express my profound gratitude to the eminent persons who have shown their deep appreciation of my results in this truly dangerous task. As I have treated my subject upon a scale never before attempted, I have been exposed to the inevitable poignant jealousies which utterly dethrone the sanity of

those who harbour them,—yet never has work been received with such an impressive recognition.

With regard to the Appendix, I have only to say that it grew naturally out of my previous labours. I entered upon the entire investigation in 1873(?)–76, while working up a history of the Gnostic philosophy, and it is congruous enough that I should conclude this collection with one further attempt to harmonise philosophy with religion.

L. H. M.

OXFORD, *Trinitarian*, 1878.

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OUR OWN RELIGION IN ANCIENT PERSIA*

(ZOROASTER (ZARATHUSHTRA) AND THE BIBLE).

BY PROFESSOR MILLS.

[(THIS essay, which is here for the fourth time edited in English and enlarged, was, in its original form, delivered twice as a public lecture before distinguished audiences in Oxford some years ago. It was soon after, or before, printed in the *Nineteenth Century Review* of January, 1894, also in its shorter form ;—and later, with the consent of the editor of that periodical and of the author, it was translated into Gujarati by Mr. D. N. Coorlawala, an accomplished Parsi of Bombay. In the second edition, see the Open Court of July, 1909, I mentioned that, as I then remembered, it was Mr. Palanji Madan who translated it. I am now happy to correct myself, while I repeat what I then wrote in recognition of the important service rendered by Mr. Palanji Madan in translating my XXXIst Volume of the *Sacred Books of the East* into Gujarati so far as the translation of the Gāthas extended in that work.]

That translation of this essay into Gujarati was published by the Trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund of Bombay in a large edition. The late very distinguished Editor of the monthly mentioned seemed gratified that the article was to be thus reproduced in that Oriental language, and he would beyond a doubt not object to this enlarged edition of it appearing as a 'University Lecture' here.

* The third edition appeared in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1911, and in a later number under the title 'The pre-Christian Religion in Ancient Persia.'

(It has also just lately been translated into Italian by a talented author, entirely upon his own suggestion and initiative, and has now been issued in that form,—and also by a gifted French auditor, but not yet published in that language.)

Those who may happen to compare this lecture with its original in the *Nineteenth Century Review* or in its *Gujarati* translation, will notice at once that it has been re-arranged, and somewhat amplified, and also that I seem to have altered my opinions somewhat as to one of the essential points, since I delivered the piece first, and since I gave it to the eminent publication. This, however, is more apparent than real, although I have certainly felt, and somewhat pointedly, the necessity for putting the possible, or probable, *independent origin* of our Jewish immortality in a clearer light. Readers will also easily recognise the later insertions, from the difference in the stylistic flow of the language, as a later and to some extent a more pointed animus imparts greater pungency and vivacity to one's mode of expressing one's self.)]

LECTURE.

MANY interested but necessarily hasty readers of the Zend Avesta overlook the fact that in the ancient documents comprised under that name we have works of many different ages : and even scholars eminently endowed with the critical faculty as applied to other specialities sometimes fall into a similar error, and ignore a characteristic which the Avesta possesses in common with nearly all other writings of its description ;—for they sometimes turn over its pages without perceiving, or seeming to perceive, that from leaf to leaf matter comes before them made up of fragments nearly or quite dissimilar, and sometimes separated as to the dates of their authorship by many hundreds of years. They are accordingly apt to make themselves merry over absurdities which prevail in the later but still genuine

Avesta, as if they were peculiar to the original Zoroastrian writings.*

But the author, or authors, of the earlier Avesta had no immediate or certain connection with the superstitions of later centuries;—and as to these quaint myths and trivial ceremonials which are preserved in the less original Avesta, are we not apt to exaggerate the disadvantages which they bring with them? How can their presence affect the value of the nobler elements in these relics of ancient faith?

We are pained to read them, but analogous superfluities survive in many modern systems. And indeed some of the cruder passages in the Zend Avesta which describe the battle with the Demon of Putrefaction, and which might seem to some of us most grotesque, were hardly superfluities, for they showed a sanitation which it would be better for us to follow rather than condemn.† In tracing the following analogies, which I take from the genuine, yet still newer, Avesta‡ as well as from the Gāthas, I shall leave out

* It is even not uncommon to speak, or write, of the Avesta as if it were identical with the later Zoroastrianism, the revived system of Sasanian times, which is, however, as different from both the earlier and the later Avesta as the ‘Lives of the Saints,’ for instance, are from the New Testament record.

† Consciously or unconsciously they anticipated much modern theory upon this subject, and led the way in the most practical of all sciences—sanitation,—and their suggestions as to this particular seem to some disinterested critics to have been indirectly reproduced in the Book of Leviticus.

‡ The earlier Avesta consists of the Gāthas, the remnants of the original hymns of Zarathushtra, and his immediate associates or followers. They are most dissimilar to the rest of the Avesta and still more so to the apocryphal Zoroastrianism. They were carefully translated by me in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXI., so long ago as October 1887, and their Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian texts were edited, and the first three translated, by me with a Commentary in my *Study of the Gāthas*, some 650 pages, 1902-04. They may be provisionally placed at about 700 to 900 B.C., though they astonishingly ignore the cults of Mithra, Haoma (Soma), and of the sun, moon, etc., etc., which might argue a still earlier date for them. The remaining parts of the Avesta are of different ages, say in their origins at least from 600 to 300 B.C., while, as in the case of every other ancient book, interesting additions of an indefinitely later origin occur here and

these inferior details generally, abandoning them as rare morsels to the collectors of ancient bits. What is here intended is to call attention to the little-known, though long since reported, fact, that it pleased the Divine Power to reveal some of the fundamental articles of our Catholic creed first to Zoroastrians, though these ideas later arose spontaneously and independently among the Jews;—secondly, I wish to emphasise the peculiar circumstances of this separate origin among the Jewish tribes of the Exile;—and thirdly, I wish to show that the Persian system must have exercised a very powerful, though supervening and secondary influence upon the growth of these doctrines among the Exilic and post-Exilic pharisaic Jews, as well as upon the Christians of the New Testament, and so eventually upon ourselves.

After this brief preface let me proceed at once to cite the documental facts as to the whole system, only remarking that they are practically uncontested by any persons whose views are worth considering, for it is by no means necessary just here to go into the closer technical linguistic distinctions* in such a delineation as this. Let us now first trace the Iranian ideas where their analogy with the Jewish seems most important.

To begin with our excerpts from the Sacred Book of the Iranians, we may consider the connection where it is also most obvious, that is to say, as to the *Nature of the Deity*.

I. First of all He is *Supreme*, and therefore *One*. The usual throng of sub-godlets which appear with Him no more impair His Supreme Unity than our own Archangels impair the Supreme Unity of Jehovah of Hosts or of our own misunderstood Tri-Unity. There can be but

there. Some writers, while holding the Gāthas to date from about 700 B.C., put even vigorous parts of the later but still genuine Avesta at a thousand years later. What happened then in that long gap;—did Iranian literature produce nothing?

* While even the original passages could be learned by any apt scholar with a competent teacher in the course of a very short time.

one* 'Greatest of the Gods who made the others, with this earth and yon Heaven, who made man, and amenity for him.'† But He is a moral God, His Supremacy is limited by His own character, which is not irrationally dishonest ;—for He is not logically responsible either through origination or through permission, for the existence of sinners and their sufferings, the Universe being divided into two immense departments. 'There were two first Spirits, a better (they two), and an evil, as to thought, as to word, and as to deed,—and when these two spirits came together to make life and non-life (they arranged) what at the last the world should be,—the best life of the faithful, but for the faithless the worst mind' . . . ‡,—a doctrine of mighty import indeed and consequence, and we must discuss it fully and at once. For it would be a clumsy history of philosophy which would allow the present noble monotheism of the Parsis to cheat us of the speculatively precious element of dualism as it exists in their genuine writings. (a) [(As regards the later doctrinal development among the Zoroastrians whereby they entirely extinguished the vital elements of Dualism, making the Supreme Good God at last completely victorious, all evil being eliminated in the final restorations see just below ;—but this was hardly a part of the original concept.)] To resume. The good and morally Supreme Ahura is exalted as the one only real God in our modern sense of the term ;—but He was One in adoration as well as in definition, supreme because His 'goodness' makes Him great, 'His Unity' being that of His Truth, Benevolence, Authority, and sacred Energy ; see above and below,—though the equally original evil God, as being

* See also the very name of the so-called and really one God ;—it was Elohim, meaning 'Gods,'—and it once referred to a recognised plurality in Deities ;—while Ahura created the highest of the sub-gods, even Mithra, at times otherwise His close companion.

† See Behistūn. Dualism in the Inscription ?—Auramazda is signally the creator of what is 'good.'—'He did not make evil' as Yahveh Elohim is said to have done in Isaiah xlv., xlv.

‡ See Y. XXX, 4.

independent, limits Him, completely exculpating Him from all share in crime;—in fact, entirely aside from any personal Devil, He would be sufficiently limited by His own Attributes*; see above.

(b) *Does analogy fail us here as between the Iranian and Jewish concepts?*—and if so, to what extent?

The Jewish pre-Christian, but post-Exilic thought was doubtless as replete with diabolic demonism as the Christian and the post-Christian, though that of the Christian epoch was obviously under the control of the exorcising Redeemer. Does this last particular, which implies the inferiority of Satan, destroy all analogy here between Iran and Christian Israel as to this essential matter?—Not fully, in the sense in which we should here view the matter. Though *Angra Mainyu* was obviously inferior to *Ahura* in power, neither one of the two could be logically regarded as the possible annihilator of the other; so that the one inferior in power was to a certain point independent;—the Saviour might temporarily frustrate, or seem to frustrate his, Satan's, malign purposes, but He plainly could not annihilate him,—otherwise he would at once have done so.—(What is eternally original could not logically be regarded as coming to an end through the power of any other being, though an eternally Original force might yet of course be inferior within the scope of its legitimate effectivity to another equally independent force,—for there can be but one all-inclusive force which has no inferior;—yet there can be relatively independent and eternal forces which have no immediate connection with one another, and here inferiority and superiority are greatly widespread;—but such a force could have never met any other in the past capable of annihilating it, otherwise throughout a past eternity the meeting must have taken place with the result under consideration);—No theology should, however, be pushed too closely to all its logical results;—and we might indeed even infer such an 'annihilation' of the evil powers from those 'restora-

* As a God of Honour.

tions' of all men ;—see above ;—and this from some expressions made use of even in the later but still genuine Avesta as well as in the Gāthas themselves, together with those in the later Zoroastrianism ;—see above and below ;—though, as seen above, this would sacrifice all logic,—for if the Good God could save all men, He should have done this earlier in their career. To allow human, or other spiritual beings to commit revolting crimes for the purpose of letting them see through experience how evil sin is, would be a policy of which a Good and Omnipotent God would hardly be capable. [(—And who of us really believes that he was ?—)]

But if, on the contrary, the Good Iranian God, even He of the Gāthas, is indeed to bring in universal salvation at the end of any period, however restricted or protracted this period might be supposed to be, then, in that case, the difference between such a phase of Zarathushtrianism and some forms of Judaism and of liberal post-Christianity in this respect *fails*, and they, these systems, are here, if only illogically, *one*,—and but for the 'forever and forever' of the Gāthic Iranian Hell, one might yet claim for the analogy between the systems a persistent validity even as to this fundamental particular.

But no similarities, however protrusive, should blind us to the real and apparently radical difference here between the creeds as mainly expressed by their original authoritative exponents ;—and the striking facts of opinion, as they existed among important sections of both parties, remain in all their monumental force.

(c) *Can we not, however, in regard to some large sections of the early Jewish population, modify this apparent difference from an opposite and unexpected quarter, abysmal though the difference referred to may well seem to most of us to be ?—It is rather a colossal question never before, so far as I am aware, mooted ;—but we must grapple with it none the less.*

Is, then, Yahveh Elohim Himself (*sic*) always actually so *supreme* as to be independent of all limitation on the part

of the evil Gods of the Gentiles? If not, 'were not' the Jews themselves sometimes in a certain essential sense of it 'dualists'?

I very seriously raise the solemn question whether the Jewish writers of the Old Testament earlier or late at all really believed their *Yahveh Elohim* to be absolutely supreme in so far as to have been the *creator of either Satan, or of Baal, or of any of the Demon-gods*. We know indeed that they, the Jewish prophets, accredited the existence of these Beings as a matter only too emphatically real, and by no means uninterruptedly regarded them as being altogether creatures of the imagination (see the frequent comparison of them with *Yahveh Elohim*). But when, and in so far as, they thus believed them, these gentile gods, to be really existing spiritual beings, in how far did they then suppose their own *Yahveh Elohim* to have been their original creator, either bringing them into existence as being holy in their nature before a fall like 'Lucifer's,' or causing them to arise as being *originally* of evil character?—The question is very serious. The foolish relief offered us by the doctrine that *Yahveh Elohim*, as God the Father, was not responsible for the fall of beings who He foresaw would become evil when He created them, is no longer available, and could not have long continued to satisfy any sober-minded sage;—but if the leading Jews in large numbers thus in due sequence unconsciously, or openly, rejected the view that their good God *Yahveh* originally created the Evil Gods of their enemies—directly or indirectly, in any shape or chain of causality or responsibility whatsoever, then such ancient Israelites were in verity, though they may not have been consciously, *dualists*,* not far indeed from the type of Zarathushtra;—they held to the existence of a Being, or Beings, who was, or who were, originally evil, and so they held, to an original

* Recall also the very expression 'God' applied to Satan as the 'God of this world.' If Satan was a 'God of this world,' and *Yahveh* was the 'God of Heaven, we have here at once something extremely like the 'Pair' at Y. XXX.

evil principle, which is dualism, and that dualism remains one of the most interesting suggestions which have ever been presented, and one indeed which, in its elements, if not in its detail, is still unconsciously but largely followed.*

So much for this most fundamental of all discriminations.

Others of the utmost interest offer themselves here at once as being closely connected,—but, in the leading of a more stringent logic, we should postpone them for later expansion, now facing that other most practical of doctrines which often really gives the whole discussion its immediate importance;—and this is the great question of the *Human Immortality*;—although many might indeed well say that the two subjects could be profitably studied quite apart,—and, in fact, that they ought to be so studied separately.

II. I fear that we too little realise how very uncertain the doctrine of a future life was in the minds of pious Jews, even at the time of our Lord. The Sadducees, as we understand, believed in ‘neither angel, nor spirit, nor resurrection,’ and they quite held their own with the Pharisees;—see even the street riot of Acts xxiii.;—several princely high-priests were of their clique, the entire party of the Asmonaeon or Hasmonaeon princes inclined to this opinion. It seems to many of us most curious that the sect among the ancient people of God, which especially claimed the title of ‘purists’† and sticklers for the ancient Pentateuch, should have been well-nigh absolute disbelievers in what are now considered to be the essential elements of religion;—see also the expression ‘who only hath immortality,’ and also ‘who brought life

* What is the present advancing pessimism (so called) but the recognition of the original necessity of evil co-existing with good? The Avesta here anticipates momentous distinctions;—recall the later schemes of the *Gnostics*;—as to which see also *Jakob Boehme*, *Fichte* and *Hegel*. Some writers have here indeed compared the supposed Babylonian dualism especially in regard to Isaiah xlv., xlv., etc., but such ‘pairings’ of the throngs of Gods should hardly be here mentioned.

† Though the name, being derived from the proper name of some prominent teacher, *Zadok*, did not necessarily imply any especial claims to ‘Righteousness’;—yet the force of the word, as analogously elsewhere in similar cases, was doubtless sometimes felt.

and immortality to light' through the gospel, as if the subject had been till lately obscured.

If such a state of things existed at the time of our Lord, when both the doctrine of immortality and that of resurrection had long been familiar as theories, what must have been the condition of opinion upon these subjects while the influence of the Pentateuch, in which these doctrines were not distinctly revealed at all, was as yet not affected by the large addition to canonical Scripture made later?

Few scientific theologians will deny that the full doctrine of a conscious and accountable immortality was scarcely mentioned before the later Isaiah*; that is to say, not before the Captivity, whereas the Zoroastrian scriptures are one mass of spiritualism, referring all final results to the heavenly or infernal worlds.—We shall return to the details for their necessary amplification further on.

(a) This is, however, also the proper place to emphasise the main essential moral and intellectual elements of this future immortality which we have indeed already inclusively adumbrated. In close accordance with the moral character of God is the deep *subjectivity* of the Religion.

Holiness is prayed for, and Heaven and Hell are chiefly mental states: —'O Asha (Angel of the Holy Law), shall I see thee, and Vohumanah (the Good Mind), I finding Sraosha (God's Heeding Ear and man's), the way to Ahura (or 'finding His throne'), Y. XXVIII. 5.

The last line in the passage cited above, Y. XXX. 4, seems to imply that the future life of the righteous was the 'Best Mind'; from this the word 'Best' occurs as used by the Persians for 'Heaven.'

Rewards and punishments are self-induced, Y. XXXI. 20; 'and this which is your life, O ye vile, with (your) own deeds your own souls have brought you.' 'Cursed by their souls and selves (their being's nature) in the Druj-

The future existence of souls after death was as dim in the pre-exilic Bible, as it was in the older Greek classics;—in fact this latter, the Greek immortality, seems to show rather the more of animation.

Lie-Demon's Home at last their bodies lie (or, 'their citizenship (?) is),' Y. XLVI. 12 ?*

III. Having endeavoured here at the outset to engage-attention by putting the two most vital elements into point, we can now return to the scarcely less imposing extended detail which presents itself in regard to the chief concepts already touched upon.

(a) Ahura Mazda, the Living Lord, the great Creator (or possibly the 'Wise One'), has a most Bountiful, or most Holy Spirit, who is sometimes identical with Him, and there is precisely the same difficulty in distinguishing between Ahura and His Holy (?) Spirit, which meets us in the Semitic when we endeavour to decide positively in the analogous obscurity. (Often we cannot tell whether Yahveh's attribute or His creature is meant.)

Yasna XXVIII. 1 :

'With hands outstretched, I beseech for the first (blessing) of Thy most Bounteous or (holy) Spirit.'*

See also Yasna I. 1 :

'I invoke, and I will complete my sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the radiant, the glorious, the greatest and the best, the most firm, (who sends His) joy-creating grace afar, who made us and has fashioned us, who has nourished and protected us, who is the most bountiful (the most holy) Spirit.'†

(b) In the seven Bountiful (or 'holy') Immortals (the Amshaspendis of literature) we have a union which reminds us of the Sabellian Trinity (Yasht XIII. 82):—

'We sacrifice to the redoubted guardian spirits of the Bountiful Immortals who are glorious, whose look itself has power (their look produces what they wish), who are lofty and coming on to help us, who are swiftly strong and divine, everlasting and holy, who are Seven,‡ and all of one thought, of one word, and of one deed, whose thought is the same, whose word is the same, and whose

* About 700 to 900 B.C., or earlier.

† Somewhat later.

‡ Literary confusion;—they were seven only with Ahura.

deeds are the same, who have one Father and Commander, Ahura Mazda;—each of whom sees the other's soul revolving good thoughts, thinking of good words, contemplating good actions, whose abode is the Home of Sublimity (or 'Song'),—and shining are their paths as they come down to us to offering.*

While they are thus unified. Ahura Mazda being illogically-included within their number, they are yet separate. Vohumanah is the divine benevolence, the good mind of the Deity, likewise alive within His saints, and later personified as a separate Archangel, while even in the Gāthas it represents the holy or correct citizen. Asha, the Vedic Rīta, is the divine Order, the symmetry and perfection in the Law, the ritual, and in the soul, while at the same time a poetically personified Archangel. Khshathra is His sovereign power realised in a kingdom of righteousness, and yet also poetically personified. Ār(a)maiti is our energetic zeal and piety, the Active mind, inspiring energy of the Deity first thought of as the 'ploughing of agriculture'; to *aratrum*, and from this latter called the 'earth' in both Veda and Avesta, as against the non-toiling and theft-murder schemes of the raiding Turks. She is also in figurative conception God's daughter, and this even in the Gāthas, where 'God' is otherwise only in general the 'Father of the good,' the Fire being 'God's Son,' exclusively in the later Avesta. She is also implanted within the minds of the faithful as a divine inspiration.

Haurvatāt is God's Perfection consummated through His foregoing Truth, Love, Power and Vital Energy, while the name is borrowed, or promoted from the haurvatāt 'wholesomeness'—*i.e.*, 'the health and success' of man. [(It was God's completeness like that of man's as reflected in the body's health, then soon perfected in the weal of soul and mind as well as of body, an idea evidently necessary to the roundness of the scheme, and added

* Say 300 to 100 B.C., in its origins at least, or greatly earlier?

in most modern theologies)] ;—while Ameretatāt is their Immortality, God's Eternity and man's Death's absence, a veritable victory over death begun in its long postponement to old age here,—which last was indeed the original point-meaning of the word,—but continued in eternal Deathlessness in a future state.*

From the second to the seventh they are therefore the personified thoughts sent forth from the mind of God to ennoble and redeem His people. That the general description of such notorious and striking conceptions as these, immensely widespread as they were in the dominant power of Asia, and lying at the logical root of Zoroastrianism, should have become known to the Jews of the Captivity and to their descendants before the date of some, if not all, of the Exilic Prophets, is scarcely less than certain, for they were also signally identified by the distant Greeks with the general theology of Persia far and wide, without distinction of provinces,—and the Greeks also heard of them, in their deepest and purest sense, before the date of Daniel (see the 'invaluable' passage in Plutarch evidently reproducing the ideas of Theopompus, whom he quotes, also cited by me elsewhere). If the priests of Cyrus conferred to the smallest degree with those of Ezra, then not only the Gnostics felt its influence, but the pre-Christian and Christian theology. And in the Book of Tobit, which also contains prominently the name of an Avesta demon, we have an allusion to these Seven† Spirits (chap. xii. 15) at Ragha, the Zarathushtrian centre (let it be noticed), one of whom, those Spirits, is actually mentioned as Raphael, the Jewish Archangel, so positively 'identifying' the two 'sets' of 'Seven Spirits,' though in a somewhat

* The 'hundred autumns' of the Rik were the hope of all, and this idea of a præternaturally extended life upon earth—that is to say, of a 'temporal immortality'—merged into that of another 'deathlessness' beyond the grave, becoming an universal aspiration with the Irano-indians, as it is, indeed, elsewhere ;—for what nation ever existed without some form of it ?

† One edition (!) omits the word 'Seven' amply supplied elsewhere.

loose manner. So also in Zechariah (iv. 10) we have 'the Seven which are the eyes of the Lord, and which run to and fro upon the earth';—and this is further expanded in Rev. v. 6: 'And I saw in the midst of the throne a Lamb standing as though it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the "Seven Spirits" of God sent forth into all the earth.' (How sublime it all becomes when we look upon it in the light of parallel development in unassisted growth.)—

[((c) Negative arguments as regards the extent of territory reached by these doctrines, drawn from the absence of the named 'Seven' from the Inscriptions, are the mistakes of non-experts, as well as are the negative arguments with regard to their dates. These names are equally absent from large portions of the Avesta, and no inference can be made from their absence from the Inscriptions. (Certainly not, as we may pause to state, upon the ground that they, the Inscriptions, are in themselves a completed unit, while they yet omit some of these personifications, which should, as an objector might suppose, be included within all complete documents dealing with the Iranian Religion, and that, on the other hand, the portions of the Avesta which omit these personifications are but parts of a whole, and therefore might not be expected to contain allusions even to leading concepts;—this negative point has little force, from the fact that the Achæmenian Inscriptions, while perhaps the most important and extensive of sculptured writings upon rocks are yet, nevertheless, necessarily very circumscribed when regarded as literature. (And how long must it have taken to complete them, by workmen who could neither read nor write in any language, while the composers also should not have been expected to mention all particulars.))

The number 'seven,' together with the very names of the Ameshas, though not visible upon the Inscriptions, found, as we have seen, its way to distant shores, and the report of Plutarch just cited, concerned, as we have also emphasised, the general religion of all Persia, so that it

could not have been intended to exclude that form of the so widely extended Faith which prevailed about Behistūn and Nakhsh i Rostam. And that these same ideas at least, which are expressed in the names of the Amesha Spentas were prominent in Farsistan is illustrated by the fact that two of them are combined in the name of an Emperor, Artakhshatra, which is Asha (A[r]sha) plus Khshathra.

[(-To be complete it may be well to pause here again for a moment, and on the other hand guard my readers against a false identification.

In the case of Arachosia the eastern province (better Harachosia, as the first *s* of the Indian Sarasvati requires a corresponding organic *h*), the name stands only as Harauvati upon Behistūn, so in the Elamatic (Susian) there is no *h*, for the organic second '*s*' of Sarasvati; *h* appears only in the Babylonian;—though in other cases '*h*' is a letter easily dropped; see *India*—(Greek)—instead of *Hindia*; compare *Hindoo* and *Sindhu*. I think we had better restore the '*h*' and read *Harauhvati*. Otherwise Harauvati might be simply the equivalent of Av. Ha(u)rvatāt(i), Indian Sarvatātī, the fifth Amesha. Religious names were not unusual when applied to countries; recall Arminiya (adj.), which seems clearly related to Ar(a)maiti, the fourth Amesha;—see also the name of the great Province of Azarbaijan (Adarbaijan), named from the 'Fire-altars.' But, as said, these remarks are a mere interlude.—)]

Angra Mainyu does not indeed occur upon the Inscription, but His Chief Creature, the Female (?) Devil of Deception, the *drauga*=*draogha*—that is, the *Druj*(*k*), see above—is present everywhere, though her, or 'his' (?), essential characteristics are more frequently expressed under the verbal than under the nominal form. 'He lied' thunders everywhere from the monumental surfaces;—those reprobations must have been constantly repeated in greatly varied forms; and these ideas in their original, or later, shape may well have helped to mould Jewish and Christian expressions.

Mithra and Anahita too seem to have stepped bodily out of the Avesta. Many turns of speech are strikingly common to the Avesta and the Inscriptions.))——To resume.

IV. Then as to the attributes of God more definitively considered in their relation to man;—He is *our Creator* (so already necessarily alluded to above upon the Attributes), and perhaps also, in a theological sense, *sovereign*; cf. Yasna XXIX. 4 in S. B. E. XXXI., and in the Gāthas:—

‘The Great Creator is most mindful of the utterances or commands which have been fulfilled beforehand hitherto by demon-worshippers, and by faithful men, and of those which shall be fulfilled by them hereafter;—He, Ahura, is the discerning arbiter, so shall it be to us as He shall will (see also Y. XXXI. 14).—He is *omniscient* (see Y. XXXI. 13, 14). He is our *lawgiver* (Y. XXXI. 11) and *teacher* (Y. XXXI. 5; Y. XXXII. 13).—He will establish a *kingdom* (Y. XXVIII. 4). It is for the *poor* (Y. XXXIV. 3): “What is your kingdom, what are your riches, that I may become your own in my actions with the righteous order, and thy good mind, to care for your poor?” (Y. LIII. 9):—“O Mazda, Thine is the Kingdom, and by it Thou bestowest the highest of blessings on the right-living poor.”—It is endangered, and yet in the end *victorious*. It has a propaganda (Y. XXXI. 3): “With tongue of thy mouth do thou speak, that I may make all the living believers.” God is our *friend, protector, strengthener*, and *unchangeable* (Y. XXXI. 7). “These, O Spirit, mayst thou cause to prosper, Thou, who art for every hour the same.”—He is our *Judge* (Y. XLIII. 4).^{*}—There is a day or period of judgment (Y. XLIII. 5, 6): “Yea, I conceived of Thee as Bounteous, O Ahura Mazda, when I beheld Thee as supreme in the actions of life, when, as rewarding deeds and words, Thou didst establish evil for the evil, and blessings for the good by Thy great virtue or ‘great wisdom’ in the creation’s final change. In which last

* These Gāthic passages may be placed at about 700 to 900 B.C.

changing Thou shalt come, and with Thy bounteous Spirit, and thy sovereign power (see also Y. XLIV. 19).'

V. Then to return for expansion to the evil element in the dualism, we have again, upon the other hand, the more detailed description of *Satan's* counter-activity toward man. While criticism casts its doubt upon the presence of Satan in the serpent of Genesis, we gather from the Genesis of the Avesta that the Scriptural reptile may well be recognised as that 'old Serpent, the Devil.' A serpent tempts in Genesis, and the consequence is sin and the expulsion from Eden. In the Vendidād, the Evil Spirit* opposes every good object of creation, and the implied consequence is an expulsion ;—the point is closer here.

Vendidād I. Ahura Mazda said unto Zarathushtra Spitama :

'I, O Zarathushtra Spitama, made the first best place, which is Airyana Vaêjah,—thereupon Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit) created a counter-creation, a serpent in the river, and frost made by the demons. . . . The third place which I, Ahura Mazda, made the best was Moûru ; thereupon Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit) created a counter creation, which was backbiting and lust. . . . The fifth place which I, Ahura Mazda, made the best was Nisaya ; thereupon, in opposition to it, Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit), full of death, created a counter creation, which was the curse of unbelief. . . . As the seventh best place I, who am Ahura Mazda, created Vaekereta . . . thereupon, in opposition to it, Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit), full of death, created the evil fairy who clave to Keresaspa. . . . As the ninth place, I, who am Ahura Mazda, created Khneñta as the best . . . thereupon Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit) created a counter creation, the inexpiable deed of Sodomy † . . . etc.'

* Though hardly Azhi Dahāka, who was nevertheless a serpent.

† About 500 to 300 B.C. ; in its main prior elements greatly earlier ; but, except where guarded by the metre, extraneous matter universally finds its way in places into ancient texts ;—many portions of the later Avesta must have been repeatedly, seldom fatally, written over.

These memorable fragments must have struck the attention of every learned Jewish scribe who studied the Lore of his great Persian Protectors ;—and what Zarathushtrian who was at all religiously instructed had not at least known of these items in their earlier form ?—See the allusions to them swarming everywhere.

(a) Then the Asmodeus (Asmodai) of the Book of Tobit (see above) is positively the Aeshma-daēva of the Avesta and Aeshma was the Wrath-demon of Invasion contending with the Seven Spirits in the Gāthas, as he did with other fell aims against the same Seven Spirits in Tobit (see Y. XXVIII. 7, etc. ;—see above and below).

(b) A ‘fall of man’ is included in the successive expulsions just above related, but we have also in the original Avesta, which was written still earlier than the Vendidad, a fall of man, as of spiritual beings, distinctly stated (Y. XXX. 3) :—

‘ Thus are the primæval Spirits (see above) which, as a pair, each independent in his actions, have been famed of old (as regards) a better and a worse, as to thought, as to word, and as to deed ; and between these Two, the demons (or ‘their worshippers’) could make no righteous choice, since theirs (was) deception ;—as they were questioning (in their hesitation) the Worst Mind approached them that he might be chosen.—Thereupon they rushed together unto Aēshma, the Demon of Rapine, that they might pollute the lives of mortals.’

(c) So much for the more definitive, and, so to speak, ‘applied,’ attributes of the Evil Deity, the ‘*God of This World.*’ The fell characteristics here manifested are not indeed so categorically arranged in a recognised order in the Gāthas, nor in the later, but still genuine, Avesta.

The ‘Good’ *Immortal Seven* are so constantly presented together in those productions that a formal correspondence in antithesis is more nearly approximated in the later Zoroastrianism, yet we may easily trace out a marked and most important informal grouping of the opposed intellectual forces even in the Gāthas. As Añgra Mainyu

there is opposed to Ahura Mazda, the One, the first, being the God of Heaven, and the second the God of Hell, so the *Druj* Lie-demon of the Infidels is opposed to Asha (Arsha) the Truth - Law everywhere ;—the Akem, evil, (sometimes called Achishta = 'the worst') Mind is opposed to Vohu Manah, the Good Mind, at times Vahishta, 'the best.' The Dush-Khshathra = evil Kings, are opposed to Khshathra, Archangel of the Sovereign Authority ; Tarōmaiti, surpassing insolence, is opposed to Ār(a)maiti, the zealous Piety ; while Av(a)ētāt = 'dejection,' etc., opposes Hauravatāt the Universal Weal of Health and of Salvation, and Ameretatāt, the deathless-long-life, here and hereafter, is opposed everywhere by Merethyu, 'death,' etc.

VI. As to *Soteriology*, a virgin conceives. It is not however, to produce Zarathushtra, but the restoring Saviour of the latter age ;—nor does she conceive without seed although she is still a virgin. She conceives from the seed of Zarathushtra, which has been miraculously preserved.

The details, which show a gross deterioration from Gāthic times, are presented in their rounded form only in the Bundahish, which is perhaps as much as a thousand years later than the date of the original passages in the genuine but still later Avesta. 'Zarathushtra approached his wife Hvōv . . . the angel Neryosangh received the brilliance and strength of that seed, and delivered it with care to the angel Anâhid, and in time it will blend with a mother. Ninety-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine myriads of the guardian spirits of the saints are intrusted with its protection' (see the Bundahish. *S. B. E.*, vol. v., p. 144). It is preserved in the Lake Kāsava till, at the end of the earthly cycle, a maid Eretāt-fedhri, bathing in the lake, will conceive from it, and bring forth the last Saoshyant, or future benefactor, while two of his predecessors are similarly engendered. These several items are likewise visible in a scattered state in the ancient but still comparatively later Avesta. In Yasht XIII. 142, we read :

‘We worship the guardian spirit of the holy maid Erētā-fedhrī, who is called the all-conquering, for she will bring him forth who will destroy the malice of the demons and of men.’*

While in Yasht XIX. 92, we read that—

‘Astvat-ereta (the Saviour of the Restoration) will arise from the waters of Kāsava, a friend of Ahura Mazda, a son of Vispataurvairi, the all-conquering, knowing the victorious knowledge which will make the world progress unto perfection.’†

And in Yasht XIII. 62, we learn that many myriads of the spirits of the faithful watch over the seed of Zoroaster.‡ [(That we have here the hope of a *virgin-born Redeemer* admits no doubt. Whether such intimations, repeated under various forms, came from the hint of the Israelitish prophets or *vice versa* is of course a question, but that Zoroastrian or Mazda-worshipping Magi, if they came from the East to do honour to the virgin-born babe of Bethlehem, were familiar with them is certain. And as they expected a virgin-born Saviour themselves, it is but reasonable to suppose that this pious hope may well have lain at the foundation of their divine call to discover him who was born ‘King of the Jews.’)]

VII. According to the record, evil Powers aroused themselves at the birth of the Semitic Deliverer, and so at Vendidad XIX., 43 we have :

‘He shouted, and shouted forth again, he Añgra Mainyu, the evil Spirit who is full of death. He pondered, and he pondered deeply, the demon of the demons, and he thus said, he who was the evil-minded Añgra Mainyu, “What! will the demons be assembled in an assembly on the top of Arezura,”§ they the wicked, evil-minded?’ . . .

* In its origin, say 300-500 B.C. (?), or greatly earlier.

† In its origins, at about 300-500 B.C. ; the much later repetition of this myth argues its long previous growth through centuries.

‡ Compare this drivel with the grandeur and simplicity of the Gātha, *S.B.E.* XXXI., pp. 1-194.

§ Recall the ‘exceeding high mountain.’

They rushed and they shouted,^b they, the demons, wicked, evil-minded, and with the evil eye :—‘ Let us assemble in an assembly on the top of Arezura, for born indeed is He who is the holy Zarathushtra of the house of Pourushaspa. Where shall we find destruction for Him?—He is the demon’s wounder,—He is the demon’s foe.^c He is Druj of the Druj (a destroyer of the destroyer). Face downward are the demon-worshippers, prostrate is the death-demon,^d and down is the Draogha of the lie.’*

(a) Then as to the *Temptation*.—If our Lord approached that great event in the spirit of a wide humanity, one would surmise that he felt some sympathy with sages who had gone before Him in similar signal encounters,—and there exists a temptation of Zoroaster of which He may have known through supernatural cognition, and to which for colour that of Hercules, for instance, bears no comparison. The myth containing it doubtless expresses in its fragments what was once a real struggle, which, if it in any sense saved Zoroastrianism, was one of the world’s crises. Zoroaster is besought by the Evil One to abjure the holy Mazdayasnian religion, and to obtain a reward such as an evil ruler got (Vend. XIX. 1). A rally from a first defeat having been made, Añgra Mainyu, the evil Spirit coming from the ‘ north region of the North,’† orders the Lie-demon to assault and slay the holy Zarathushtra, now no longer just born, but in the vigour of his age. The demon, again discouraged, returns to Añgra Mainyu. She says :

‘ O baneful Evil Spirit, I see no death for him, for glorious is the holy Zarathushtra.’‡

Zarathushtra (seeing through their thoughts, says within himself) :

‘ The Demons plot my death, they, evil-doing as they are.’

* In its origin, say about 300 or greatly earlier (?). The foot-note signs expressed in letters refer in each case to the corresponding analogy ; see the note below, p. 23 ; (recall, ‘ cried with a loud voice’).

† An accursed quarter.

‡ Recall : ‘ I know Thee who Thou art, the Holy One of God.’

Then Añgra Mainyu again heads the throng.

‘He (Z.) arose, he went forth uninjured^f by their plan and the hardness of their words. And Zarathushtra let the Evil Spirit know :—

‘O evil-minded Añgra Mainyu, I will smite the creation made by demons ; I will smite the Nasu (putrid demon) ; I will smite the evil fairy (that seduced the early sages), till the Saviour is born victorious from the waters of Kāsava, from the utmost region of the East.*—

And Añgra Mainyu answered, shouting as he spoke :—

‘Slay not my creatures,^g holy Zarathushtra. Thou art Pourushaspa’s son, for from thy birth have I invoked (thee).^h† Renounce the good religion of those who worship Mazda.ⁱ Obtain the reward^j which Vadhaghan, the murderous (ruler), gained.’—

And Zarathushtra answered :

‘Never shall I abjure the good faith^k of those who worship Mazda : (no), let not my body, nor my life,⁺ nor my senses fly apart.’—

And to him then shouted the Evil Spirit of the evil world :

With whose word wilt thou thus conquer ?—With whose word will thou abjure ? With what weapon as the best formed wilt thou conquer these my creatures ?—

And Zarathushtra answered :—

‘With the sacred Haoma plant, with the mortar, and the cup, with the word which God pronounced.^l With these my weapons (will I slay thee), they are best. With that word shall I be victor, with that word shall I expel thee,^m with this weapon § as the best made, O evil Añgra Mainyu. The most bounteous Spirit forged itⁿ ; in boundless time He made it ;—and the Bountiful Immortals gave it, they who rule aright, who dispose (of all) aright.’

* A blessed quarter.

† First aorist mid. ‘All these things will I give thee.’

‡ Other translators introduce an ‘if’ to gain a better meaning ‘Not if my body, nor my life, nor my senses fly apart.’

§ Recall ‘the sword of the Spirit.’

And Zarathushtra chanted :—

‘As the higher priest is to (be revered and) chosen, so let the lower chief (be one who serves) from the righteous order, a creator of mental goodness, and of life’s actions done for Mazda, and the kingdom^o is to Ahura, which to the poor may give their nurture.’*—

Here we may well introduce the closing verse of the chapter (XIX. 147): †—

‘The demons shouted, the demons rushed, the evil-doing and the wicked; they rushed and they fled to the bottom of the place of darkness; that is, of frightful Hell.’^p

Few Medo-Persian subjects in the streets of Jerusalem being presumably Mazda-worshippers, like their Emperors, here lingering in the Persian subject city soon after, or long after the Return, could have failed to know this striking myth probably in a much fuller form;—and none who knew it could have failed to tell it, if creeds were at all discussed.

VIII. We can now trace the records of the *soul’s individual* experiences in its salvation, and here the astonishing subjectivity of the system comes once more fully out. In Vend. XIX. 30, the soul is met on its arrival after death at the Chinvat, or Judge’s, Bridge by a female form accompanied with dogs,[†] and in Yasht XXII. we learn who this female was. It was none other than the believer’s *conscience*.

* The texts cited are all of them metrical, from this the rhythm of the renderings.

† For detailed analogies in the above citations, which are not very close, recall perhaps ^(a) ‘the exceeding high mountain’; ^(b) ‘cried with a loud voice, My name is Legion, for we are many’; ^(c) ‘Art thou come hither to destroy us before the time?’ ^(d) ‘Death and Hell shall be cast into the lake that burneth’; ^(e) ‘The Holy One’; ^(f) ‘was led up into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil’; ^(g) ‘And the devils besought Him,’ etc.; ^(h) ‘I know Thee who Thou art’; ⁽ⁱ⁾ ‘All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me’; ^(j) ‘I will give Thee this authority’; ^(k) ‘Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God’; ^(l) ‘It is written’; ^(m) ‘Get thee hence’; ⁽ⁿ⁾ ‘The sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God’; ^(o) ‘him only shalt thou serve’; ^(p) ‘Then the devil leaveth Him’; ‘into the abyss.’

‡ Related to Cerberus (?).

The figure presents the typical features of female attractiveness ;—she is beautiful, she is noble, and in the flower of her youth.—‘What maiden art thou,’ he asks her, ‘who art the most beautiful of maidens that ever I have seen?—And she, who is his conscience,* answers: ‘I am verily, O youth, thy conscience, thy good thoughts, and words, and deeds, thy very own.’ But he asks her:—‘Who hath desired thee hither with his love, coming with thy majesty, thy goodness, and thy beauty, triumphant and an enemy of grief?’ And she answers:—‘Thou hast loved me and desired me† hither, O youth, even thy good thoughts, and words, and deeds. For when thou sawest idol-worship . . . thou didst desist, chanting the Gāthas, and sacrificing to the good waters and to Ahura-Mazda’s fire, contenting‡ the righteous saint who came to thee from near and from afar.—It is thus that thou hast made me, who am lovely, still more lovely, and me who am beautiful hast thou made still more beautiful, and thou hast made me who am beatified still more beatified . . . through thy good thoughts, and words, and deeds.’ (Here we may observe, in passing, the same element of pleased surprise which we have in the sublimer Matthew XXV. 37; the soul is incredulous: ‘When saw we Thee a hungered and fed Thee?’,—and the answer is, ‘Thou hast fed and lodged Me;’ so here there is surprise: ‘Who hath desired thee hither with his love?’ And the answer is: ‘Thou hast;—for thou didst content the righteous man coming from near and from afar.’) As the soul proceeds further, it passes the Judge’s Bridge and comes before the golden throne, where the Good Mind is seated§ (Vend. XIX. 31). He rises to meet it, and welcomes it: ‘When didst thou come hither from that perishable world to this imperishable world?’;—and the saints who

* Some writers render, the believer’s ‘soul’; others, the believer’s self, so varying the identical idea.

† ‘Invited me.’

‡ The later Zoroastrianism explains ‘lodged and entertained.’

§ Recall the ‘Son of Man’;—V.M. also equalled ‘the good man.’

have passed away before him ask him the same :—‘ How long was thy salvation ?’ Then said Ahura Mazda : ‘ Ask him not what thou asketh of that cruel way which is the dividing of the soul and body’ (Yasht XXII.).—And the first step, as he advances, places him in the entrance of the three-fold Heaven, which is again the Good Thought, and the second step places him in the Good Word, and the third in the Good Deed.—Then the soul passes on contented to the souls of the saints, to the golden throne of Ahura Mazda, and to the golden thrones of the Bountiful Immortals, and to the abode of Sublimity (or ‘ Song’), even to the home of Ahura Mazda and His blest* (Vend. XIX. 33). A corresponding evil spirit awaits the wicked ; a hideous female is his conscience,—the wicked and Añgra Mainyu mock him, and he rushes at last into the Hell of evil thoughts, and words, and deeds.†

IX. *Corporal resurrection* seems to be placed after the reception of souls into Heaven as if they returned later to a purified earth.‡

As to this doctrine,—which is, properly speaking, not identical with that of ‘immortality,’ but which may be said to be closely associated with it.—aside from the constant implication of it throughout, we have in Fragment IV., ‘ Let Añgra Mainyu, the evil spirit, be hid beneath the earth,—let the Daēvas disappear, let the dead arise, and let bodily life be sustained in these now lifeless bodies.’ And, in Yasht XIX. 83, we have resurrection together with millennial perfections :—‘ We sacrifice unto the Kingly Glory which shall cleave unto the victorious Saoshyant and His companions, when He shall make the world progress unto perfection, and when it shall be never dying, not decaying, never rotting, ever living, ever useful,

* About 300 B.C., in its origins at least, probably greatly earlier.

† A perhaps misunderstood echo of this would be Rev. xxii. 11 : ‘ He that is unrighteous, let him be unrighteous still :—and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still.’

‡ Recall the same uncertainty among Christians as to the detail of their future beatification.

having power to fulfil all wishes, when the dead shall arise, and immortal life shall come, when the settlements shall all be deathless.' Contrast this with the earlier Scriptural passages, void as they are of any genuine statement of this important dogma;—compare these, then, with statements which appear after the return from the Captivity, a captivity during which the tribes had come into intimate contact with a great religion* in which the passages cited express predominant convictions;—what do we find in them? First, we have the jubilant hope expressed by the later Isaiah: 'Let thy dead live, let my dead body arise;—Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the shades.' And then the full statement in Daniel: 'And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.'—And yet God's people, as we have seen above, had by no means universally accepted the meaning of this language even at the time of Christ. We draw the inference—*the religion of the Jews was originally Sadducaic.*†

X. Such then are the historical literary facts,—uncontested for the most part, the great mass of them (see above), and also incontestable;—and this, whatsoever may be their possible or impossible, exterior historical connection or disconnection with the Hebrew theology, or with our own. The points deduced from them clearly show that they contain the very most essential elements of '*our own religion*' in its advanced, if still formative, condition, from the date of the Captivity, or before the time of Christ, and after the Restoration from the Exile. [(—Let us now for convenience compactly collect the points made in the above copious citations. First of all there was God's unity as the greatest of the deities and with a name far more appropriate than our own for Him.—He has the Attributes

* Within a vast Empire in which they had become citizens.

† Sadducees before Zadok.

of Justice, Benevolence, Authority, Inspiring Energy (compare the Holy Spirit), Universal Weal and Eternity. There were these latter at times personified as Archangels; so, rhetorically or otherwise;—there was His ‘creationism’ of ‘this world and yon Heaven,’ as of man, with optimistic aims and results, no evil appearing as His product, and of the other Gods and Archangels, these last having been at first His Attributes;—there was a human Immortality also certified as to the eternity of its duration by the application of the word ‘Amesha’ in the next oldest portion of the Avesta to the ‘Immortal’ Archangels, ‘amesha’ being an adjective to Ameretatāt.—There was a dominant subjective susceptibility in all the three personified better elements, God, the Archangels, and sanctified man, extending to thought, word, and deed.—

There was a Demonology with the most pronounced Satan of all literature, a very ‘God of this world’ as against the ‘God of Heaven.’ He has his evil Attributes in antithesis to the beneficial ones of Ahura Mazda. One of them is positively personified in the Gāthas, and perhaps two of them;—there is a fall of man as of other spiritual beings from successive Edens through his, Añgra Mainyu’s, malign influence.—

There was to be a judgment personal and universal, discriminating thoughts, words, and deeds, with an approval experienced in the saved man’s soul, and continued as a recompense,—and also a future Heaven itself partly consisting in the person’s own good thoughts, and words, and deeds, but with various additional particulars of beatification. Millennial periods of intermitting righteous felicity here intervene, with a final restoration upon a renewed and supernaturally beatified earth. This latter seems to take place as a sequel to the first beatific reception of the soul in Heaven, a resurrection being an essential element in this restoration, while the entire redemption is brought about by a Virgin-born Beatifier. (—There may be some possibility of a ‘sevenfold’ gradation of

felicity, in connection with the Seven Karshvars of the Earth, or with the Seven Spirits) ;—For the evil, a corresponding Hell exists in equal grade.—These are, as I need hardly repeat, the vital essentials of ‘our own religion’ as it existed in its earlier stages in the Exilic period during and after the Captivity and before Christ, being conspicuously manifested in the orthodox Pharisaism, while these elements existed in the Persian documents for unknown previous ages ;—see also the Veda at places.*—)] (a) It can now be fully seen why I used the expressions in the title to these lectures. Contrary, however, to many acute and sincere searchers, I hold that the two forms of this same religion were originally each of separate origin—see again above and below,—each being a regularly spontaneous and parallel development from unchanging universal laws, proving the original man-unity, and strongly supporting the view that it was impossible to prevent the origin and development of similar ideas, entirely aside from all borrowing of them from one nation to another. (b) But while I hold that these views arose from ‘parallel development’ having been caused by the disastrous afflictions of the Captivity, I lay no illogical straw in the way of those who hold to the view that the doctrines were, under God, taught directly to the Jews by their protectors. In fact, I would strenuously repeat, and with emphasis, what I wrote in 1894—viz., the principle, that any, or all of the historical, doctrinal, or hortative statements recorded in the Old or the New Testament might, while fervently believed to be inspired by the Divine Power, be yet freely traced, if the facts would allow of it, to other religious systems for their mere mental initiative,—that the historical origin of particular doctrines or ideas which are expressed in the Old or the New Testament does not touch the question of their inspiration, plenary or otherwise—(c) [(That, for instance and to illustrate, as St. Paul freely discloses his mental peculiarities, and (as to

* Further citations on the contents of the Vedas are given later in the lecture by the author upon ‘The Avesta and the Veda.’

citations) quotes a poet of his youth, so our Lord Himself also reveals a mental constitution, and to a certain degree expressed, as all others express them, the convictions and enthusiasms which he has absorbed from earlier associations. And still more than this, unless we are prepared to accede to a docetic heresy doubting the very reality of our Saviour's human nature, every sentiment of veneration ought to induce us to trace, if it be possible to trace them, not only the fountain-heads of His human convictions, but the supplying rills of His expression. (—If we carefully study the genealogy of His body, with how much greater earnestness should we examine that of His mind.—) For it was His thoughts, humanly speaking, and sometimes His earlier ones, which not only constituted a part of His momentous history, but actually determined His career. In the source of His thoughts, therefore, the great motives of His subsequent history are to be sought. (d) Recall, for instance, what I also have just alluded to above* in the citations as to the recorded temptation of the Persian Saint:—as He was gathering up his resolves for such a mental scene as that described in the fourth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel; see above,* in which He purposed to meet in one decisive encounter a spiritual power which, as He believed, was threatening His creation, as there had been something memorable of a similar kind in the experiences of prophets of kindred religions, and if these were known to Him, as I have suggested, through His omniscience,† it does not seem to me to be at all deniable that such preceding '*temptations*' (as He revolved them, with all that they signified) *influenced* Him,—if He possessed that larger intellect which could see over the trivial paraphernalia of superstition, and look at the soul struggling in its sincerity for spiritual life, and for the spiritual lives of many who revered it, then the humblest of His forerunners *must have led him on*. It would seem, therefore, to be a very pious act to search

* Page 21.

† See the Talmud article by Dr. Deutsch (*Remains*, 1874).

diligently for everything which Christ hallowed by His reverence, and it would seem a very mistaken religious sentiment which would arrest one in such a course.)]

Reflections.

The most obvious place to search for the doctrines and opinions amid which our Lord grew up, has been, as of course, the Jewish literature of His period, and of that which preceded His appearance;—this has been examined to a considerable extent, and much of the greatest interest has been brought to light;—the theologies of Babylon and Egypt should be also searched as well as those of Greece and Rome. From India we have what seem a throng of rich analogies from the Buddhist Scriptures, but our highest authorities upon the subject are, or were, inclined to doubt the possibility of the historical connection; there remains then this ancient Persian theology, where, as we have seen, an effective historical connection amounts, at one stage of it at least, to historical identity,—and it is as such, I believe, universally recognised. Cyrus took Babylon, say, about the year 539 B.C., and with it the Jewish slave colony, whose tribes continued to be Persian subjects till the Achæmenian power broke. Jeremiah, foreseeing this future invasion of the dominant and restless Aryan, voiced his anathemas against his Semitic Babylonian oppressors in view of it;—the ‘Kings of the Medes’ were to avenge him, and in due course they did so, and later sent the Jewish people back from their Captivity, rebuilding the Holy City when it had become an ‘heap,’ decreeing also the restoration of the Temple. The later Isaiah speaks in most astonishing terms of this Restorer;—the Book of Nehemiah discloses further scenes with Persian monarchs;—section after section of the Bible dates from their reigns, while Magian* priests, who were of the

* The word ‘Magian’ is with little doubt Avestic; the *Maga* was ‘the Holy Cause,’ occurring repeatedly in the Gāthas; the changed suffix *u* in *Magu* is of no importance, and the *o* of the Avestic *moghu*

religion of Cyrus, came later to do honour to the Son of Mary, and one of the last words uttered by Christ upon the Cross was in the Persian tongue.* [(—The fact that Cyrus may have coquetted politically with the Babylonian priesthood, if it be a fact, is one which redounds somewhat to his credit and corroborates our argument. How much better that he should show some respect to the religion of his fallen enemies, who now became fully acquiescent in their submission, than to crush them all wholesale with the usual slaughter. Were it even true that he was accurately depicted upon a stele as present at the worship of one of their chief deities, this would be but one proof the more of his considerate courtesy. He did not conquer to annihilate.

Whether the precise form of Mazda-worship now upon the Inscriptions was that of Zoroaster exactly or not is just at this point of our inquiries again a question which we need only glance at, as it is of little moment.† It seems likely, indeed, that it was an especially original form of Mazda-worship remaining undeveloped in an original simplicity, while elsewhere throughout Media and South Persia the particulars of the general creed advanced till they became identified with those of the Zoroaster of Plutarch. But whether this were the fact or not, it must have possessed the main features which have been more or less exactly preserved to us in the Zend Avesta.—)] Further.

The word *Mazdā* (perhaps *-dāh*), meaning 'the Great Creator,' or 'the Wise One,' is, as said above, with Ahura, the Life-spirit-lord, an especially well-adapted name for God, much more so than a name derived

results from epenthesis; cf. *volu* for *vahu*, Sk. *vasu*; *gh* also = Gāthic *g*. *Maga*, as being pre-Gāthic by centuries, may have been carried down to Akkad by Turanians; cf. Y. 46, 12. Some writers have, I believe, assumed that the expression *rab mag* in Jeremiah could not have originated from across the border; that it was purely Semitic:—but no one doubts that the Magi of the Gospels were Aryan and Persian. And they naturally came into once-Persian Judæa. Here is the same word as *mag* beyond all doubt non-Semitic: the *mag* of *rab mag* may well be one of the hundred odd Persian words in our Semitic Bible.

* Luke xxiii. 43. Paradise = Av. *pairi-d(a)eza*.

† See my remark in Vol. XXXI., *S.B.E.*, Introduction, p. 30.

from a Heathen Deity, it being the name used for Him by that great Mazda-worshipper, who, under the providence of God, determined the entire later history of the Jewish people. For had Cyrus, the Mazda-worshipper, not brought the people back, the later prophets might not have spoken at Jerusalem, nor might Jesus have been born at Bethlehem, nor taught in the region. Indeed, the influence of the Great Restorer and his successors over the city was so positive that in the opinion of some writers Jerusalem was for a considerable period after the Return in many respects almost 'a Persian city.'*

* THE AGE OF THE GĀTHAS.—I have omitted to place the present note under the text, not wishing to accumulate too much of such matter at the foot of the pages.

My argument for the age of the Gāthas has been very carefully thought out. *First*, any verbal statement within the Hymns themselves directly mentioning their age would be regarded by me as a mere curiosity aside from *internal evidence*;—it is what the documents reveal of themselves, as it were, in passing and without intention, which alone possesses validity in my eyes.

Secondly,—as to this internal evidence.—Are the Gāthas the productions of a person or persons living amid the actual scenes to which they unconsciously allude? If they did so allude to interests which were real, immediate, and vital, the Hymns must have been composed in a *language generally spoken as vernacular at the time*. Reasons:—first (*a*), they are *twice formally addressed* to assemblies 'coming from near and from far' (see Y. XXX., 1, and Y. XLV., 1); secondly (*b*), they allude *pointedly* in the first, second, and third personals to *persons immediately and vitally involved in the religious-political situation* of which the Hymns are the expression (see Y. XXVIII., 8, 'to Vishtāspa and to me,' 'to Frasha-oshtra and to me';—see even a vocative in Y. XLVI., 15, 16); while their whole tone, so personal and at times impassioned, clearly precludes the hypothesis of a 'dead language' in a scene so rudimental and in a climate so severe as Iran, where energies would be directed rather to the necessities of life than to a hyper-artificial literature of such a character as would use a dead language for a careful imitation. Even in swarming India a fabricated structure exactly of such a type as the Gāthas would be if artificially composed, is really unheard of. There was nothing there like such a supposed worked-up romance. Sanskrit when a dead language was, indeed, widely used; but never in close fraudulent imitation of a personal crisis. It would have demanded inimitable art to imagine and fabricate such a forgery. If, then, the Author or Authors of the Gāthas used a language familiarly spoken at the time, we know at once *when* they used it. For, *thirdly*, no one

doubts the date of the Achæmenian Inscriptions, nor that the language in which they were sculptured was that spoken by Darius and the Persians of his day and neighbourhood;—and this language is well preserved on the mountain rocks;—but upon comparing it with the Gāthic we see that it appears in a form much degenerated from it. Two hundred years, say, more or less, are needed as time to account for the change; for that change was almost as great as that from Anglo-Saxon to Elizabethan English. If, then, the Gāthic language was in vernacular use at the time at which the Gāthas were written, and that vernacular could not have prevailed at Behistūn later than 200 years (about) before Darius had his Inscriptions chiselled, we have at once the latest date at which the Gāthas could have been produced, say 700 B.C.

To suppose them written in a vernacular near the time of Christ is therefore wholly absurd, for the Gāthic language had been dead for centuries, Pahlavi having taken its place;—and to regard them as having been written in a dead language preserved among the priests is likewise excluded by the nature of the compositions;—see above. The language must, indeed, have lingered amid the priestly schools as Sanskrit and Latin did, and much later Avesta must have been written or rewritten in it. For such matter as we have throughout the later Avesta would be naturally reproduced from time to time amid the priestly schools written over in the then ‘dead language’; cp. again the Sanskrit literature. Yet the intense ‘personality,’ so to express it, of the Gāthas could hardly have been so radically reconstructed, much less fraudulently originated, with the metres, had he even so much desired it, by anyone living at the time of Christ;—[(such an hypocrisy would imply an advanced cynicism incredible in the circumstances)].

Pious fraud of the type indicated would have also no visible motive;—and without such an artificial misrepresentation intentionally practised, the authorship of the Gāthas at about the time of Christ is unthinkable. Even if the allusions to the Gāthas which occur in the other books may have been, some of them, later inserted and incorporated with them, yet it cannot be denied that they pointedly suggest a very early date for them;—while the full view that the Gāthas were *genuinely* composed at the time of Christ by a then living Zarathushtra of a then living Frashaoshtra and Jāmāspa, etc., needs hardly to be considered; see above;—no living poem composed in a contemporaneous national crisis could have been popularly *spoken* in an unknown tongue. And as to the *personality* of Zarathushtra,—not only is it irresistibly implied in every allusion to the Persian religion from Herodotus down, but we have Zarathushtra mentioned by Plutarch as if his name were positively familiar to Theopompus, *circa* 350 B.C.

To sum up: the Gāthas could not have been written in a vernacular tongue later than 700 B.C., and they may have been written much earlier;—and they could not have been written in the ‘dead language’ at all.

SUPPLEMENTARY LECTURE TO THE FIRST

[(Fearing to include too many points in summing up, I have separated some remarks which originally appeared in the main body of the First Lecture, but which may yet be useful. Should this Lecture be read publicly in Bombay, where that much-appreciated honour has already been conferred upon some of my well-meant productions,* the main points of the previous Lecture should be here recapitulated.)]

. . . Many indeed have been the erroneous statements made by well-meaning tyros in Christian pulpits, as by myself too, once among them, with regard to the 'impossibility' of all later connections between our great doctrines and analogous truths once held by nations foreign to the Jews who may yet have been brought into connection with them; and the fervent novice may well be pardoned if, in his first sincere efforts, he is too decided in a negative sense; but in men of maturer years let us hope for better things. For surely—to be sentimental, if only for a moment,—the first object of religion next after the suppression of unlawful violence or appropriation should be the suppression of inaccurate statement, and to deny without any effort to become an expert what every expert knows to be the truth is, so it seems to me, to commit a crime in the name of Christianity for which Christianity will be one day called upon to account. It is therefore to help the Church against well-furnished gain-sayers, and to re-establish her character for conscientious investigation, that Christian specialists in Orientalism have

* Indeed, without any previous knowledge of it on my part.

given the best years of their lives,—to save the endeared religion which once inculcated every honourable principle from continuing herself to be a victim if not the agent of that most sinister of equivocations known as ‘pious fraud.’ *

My procedure is thus, I hope, now clear to all. The *connection* between Persia and Israel has been found to approach identity, as was only to be expected from the fact that the two nationalities,—if indeed the Jewish could really be called a ‘nationality,’—were parts of the same Empire for close on, or more than two hundred years. As this is a point unquestioned *a posteriori*, so the doctrinal analogies were as probable *a priori* as presuppositions, as they have been proved to be historically actual through our Oriental research. And with this, note the unparalleled expressions of theological sympathy. If we have found a pictorial sculpture representing Cyrus as worshipping in a Babylonian temple, a sort of political manifesto,†—and, if we regard this as showing clearly a strong leaning toward the Babylonian Baal-worship, what shall we say as to the astonishing language of this same Cyrus, with that of Darius, and Artaxerxes recorded in our Bibles, re-reading also what the Jewish prophets and historians have left written in response to it.

I hardly think that anything of their kind approaches these extended statements *in the history of literature* as an expression of religious identity of feeling between two peoples similarly situated, or even more closely connected, certainly not at their date ;—that is, not, when all the other circumstances are held in view. Recollect that the Bible is beyond all other documents regarded as hyper-sacrosanct, and by nearly, or quite one-third the human race ;—even sceptics as to its detail acknowledge harmoniously

* To emphasise such a point should be hardly our secondary object throughout such discussions as the present.

† See above.

its unspeakable influence—then let us re-read attentively what the Bible records of its own great Jewish-Persian Emperors.

The *psychology* of the development was, more distinctly, this :—During the shock and sorrows of the Captivity God's people turned their thoughts from earth to Heaven,—just as we so often do,—for the eventualities had proved that the temporal rewards so persistently promised to the 'righteous,' had in some way, and for the time being, proved illusory. Then came their Deliverer with His thronging forces, and with a change in their immediate circumstances which might well have re-assured them that the Psalmist had indeed 'never seen the righteous forsaken'; see above. And also that very same enormous event, which might well have convinced them that this world should at last show them better times as a reward for their fidelity, actually itself brought with it the same settled and worked-out doctrine of *another life* which the Jews had just acquired, but which had been believed in from their birth by those same large masses recruited from all parts of the Iranian Empire, while priests of this Immortality accompanied every battalion, or made many groups for each corps, with an illustrious *King of Kings* at the head of all of them, who never dictated a word for an Inscription without attributing every victory to the 'Life-Spirit-Lord, the Great Creator, Auramazda'; see Behistūn and elsewhere. What wonder then, as I have so often implied, that the Jews listened to the unconscious expressions of their new-found friends, whose fire-altars at times glowed at evening widely, and that, listening, they began the more to vie with these Persian fellow-believers in the hopes and fears of what was now the common Faith,—and so the doctrine grew. While the historically more conservative party amidst the Jews, that of the Zadokians, (the Sadducees) clung with aristocratic tenacity to the old simplicity, and opposed this growing Zoroastrianism of the masses. Yet the new views, adapted as they were to

appeal to the feelings of an afflicted humanity, *prevailed*, having first concentrated themselves in a sect which termed itself, or which was termed by its indignant predecessors *Pharisees, Farsees, Persians*,* hardly 'separatists,' 'dividers.'† So that, at the time of Christ, it could be said, and upon His own authority, that 'the Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses' seat,' and it was from him 'who lived a Pharisee' that our own future hopes were chiefly handed down to us.‡

For additional literary focus to our results, I would say, as if speaking from the orthodox point of view, that while the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are unrivalled in their majesty and fervour, constituting perhaps the most impressive objects of their kind known to the human mind, and fully entitled to be described as 'inspired,' yet the greatly more widely-extended, and as to certain particulars, long prior religion of the Mazda-worshippers was supremely useful in giving point and body to many loose conceptions among the Jewish religious teachers, and doubtless also in introducing many good ideas which were entirely new, while as to the doctrines of immortality and resurrection within a restricted sphere the most important of all, it certainly assisted and confirmed, though it did not positively originate belief.

But the greatest and by far the noblest service which it rendered was the quasi-origination and propagation of the doctrine that 'virtue is chiefly its own reward,' even in the great religious reckoning, and 'vice its own punishment.'

The time is now past, let us hope for ever, when the Christian apologist recoiled from recognising the very im-

* The modern name of the original province of Persia is *Farsistan*.

† It is bad etymology to trace words to an abstract.

‡ Of course our Lord Himself as an eschatologist adhered to the tenets of the Pharisees;—this while He denounced the practices of some of their chiefs who were contemporaneous with Him.

portant services which have been rendered to the holy faith by peoples foreign to the Jews. And surely no one will look askance at the happy fact that not only a small nation to the west of the Jordan held to those great truths on which rest our hopes beyond the grave, but that the teeming millions of Persia also held to them in successive generations *long earlier than the prophets*. These considerations entitle their ancient lore to our veneration and investigation. It now lies open not merely to the laborious specialist but to the intelligent student,—and it is to be hoped that from the mass of human energy devoted to so much that is trivial, some fraction may yet be spared for the study of this rich and influential monument of the past which holds such a conspicuous place among the records of our own religious history.

SECOND LECTURE.

CONTINUED RECAPITULATION WITH EXPANSION, AND FRESH POINTING.

ANYONE who has been disposed to treat this great subject with respect has already seen what my plain issue is. I do not in any way object to my readers or hearers denying any possible or probable original influence of the Persian theology upon the Jewish-Exilic. I wish simply to place in clearest light the undeniable fact that two such systems existed, one in North Persia,*—and the other in Perso-Babylonia and in Jerusalem, and that they contained certain crucial and fundamental elements which were approximately identical. There can be no doctrine more angularly practical than that of the one-God-ism† with creationism, and this was expressed by the Persian in a manner which left no room for a plurality;—Ahura was supreme as the ‘greatest of the gods,’ having created the others as Yahveh created our own Archangels‡: ‘He made this earth and yon heaven’; ‘He made man and amenity for him’; Genesis is not stronger;§ while the elohist in Genesis uses the plural¶ word for the Deity.

As regards an outcropping dualism in the one and the fundamental dualism of the other, see the first Lecture. So also for the animated personal immortality|| with judgment,

* Or focussed there while universally diffused throughout Persia.

† There can be but one ‘greatest’; see the First Lecture.

‡ Both from the same source (?).

§ In some occurrences actually meaning a literal ‘plurality.’

|| Some critics may, indeed, be surprised that I make so much of ‘Immortality’ when placing it among such supreme principles as Truth, Love, Order, and Energy; but manifestly ‘Immortality’ gains

etc. These vital constituent elements, then, exist in the two systems as a matter of fact, and their identity is unquestioned totally aside from all external historical influence, mutual or other, between the two.

[(But a very urgent moral side-question may here arise among circles acutely interested in the immediate application of these supposed or real facts to individual believers, especially to the young. 'May it not be dangerous'—so they might say—'to our practical results to occupy the attention of the young or simple with religious matter even when it is only externally foreign to their desired personal experience, if it be outside of the point of immediate conversion or edification?' My more advanced readers may, indeed, not understand why I pause to notice such a suggestion, but I do so, nevertheless.—and I would answer the query first of all with an emphatic *acquiescence*.

Scientific religionists will not deny that the most solemn and beneficial effects result from our manifold forms of Christianity far outweighing their defects ;—and God, if He is anywhere as a spiritual force, is in the immediate application of the good elements here. To block the application of holy ideas is to negative their value. All the greatest historical doctrinal truths of the most sacred systems are in themselves of infinitesimal value aside from what they effect in the moral redemption and edification of man. The salvation of one human soul from sin, so to speak of it, is of more importance than all the doctrines of all the religions without it. Better by a heavy multiple that the young romanist should never hear a word of 'reformation,' nor the young liberal a word of 'Church' than that the new-born hunger for holiness in either of them

all its dignity as an effort to justify our creation. How else, says the religionist, can we possibly acquit the Author of our being? All men born into the world should each certainly be willing to bear his share of fraud, bereavement, illness, and poverty ;—but none the less the doctrine of a judgment on high, with rewards and punishments in a future state has its chief value to us in rectifying the universal sense of wrong. Immortality with a judgment well expressed a keen moral idea.

should be baffled by conflicting claims. Let me not be misunderstood. Settled interior tendencies to sin are the cause of the worst of human sorrows. With universal goodness spurring on activity, almost the entire mass of calamities would be forestalled;—and while completeness could never be reached owing to unavoidable pain and bereavement,—yet a state of great happiness could always be indefinitely evermore approached.

So much for the *immediate* as the focus of benefits. Yet closely linked with it is that past which the present becomes at every moment. And this for every reason demands our earnest attention, for it not only helps on the present, but is pregnant with the future. As the perfection of human character is the most wonderful work of God, it manifestly both encourages and guides us in the present to study its history, and this wherever it may be found, though, again, we should first arduously examine that past which lies nearest to us—once more the *immediate*.)] After this, to shut out the great events which have transpired of this nature in places even far distant, and in times long gone by, is not to be permitted, for the broadening of our minds demands it. Of all the ancient religions of the earth the Persian should be the dearest to Jews and Christians on account of its close intimacy with their own, and also because of its depth, *i.e.*, its ‘interior’ spirit. For we can freely claim that the Zend Avesta is the ‘earliest document’ of interior religion searching the ‘thoughts, words, and deeds.’ See also the emphatic iteration of personal religious hopes in the Inscriptions.—Egoistic they may be, but there is no mistaking their sincerity. And there is also no vulgarity in numbers here, for who of us has not felt aglow at the ‘multitude whom no man can number,’ presumably, among the ‘saved’; and coarseness is especially excluded from religious statistics when the widening of numbers carries with it the narrowing of ‘perdition.’

Here, again, Persia fills out our sphere of vision. No-where else on the face of the earth had such numbers been

affected by such views. They were in general characteristic of all Persia (see Plutarch*). If God was anywhere present in any human event He was active at the taking of Babylon, even when regarded as an external circumstance. How much more if the Persian army was animated, if only dimly, with an interior faith. Had Cyrus failed there, where would our post-Exilic Judaism and our pre-Christianity have been now as historical facts?† Somewhere, doubtless, and in some form,—but where? Cyrus and his successors not only saved the Jewish national existence, but restored the Jewish worship with its very Temple.

Time likewise works with these considerations of vast populations. If but one in a thousand‡ among the Persian public had ever really felt the effective influence of these interior ideas, yet that alone must have accumulated to a vast psychic force within successive generations.

Political motives doubtless played the larger part with the Emperors in determining upon the Restoration of the Jews, yet it is wholly unreasonable for us to suppose that religious sentiment had nothing to do with it. Recall the altogether remarkable statements in the Book of Ezra—the announcement by Cyrus himself, the requests for Jewish prayers by his successors. See also the marked friendship between the Persian and the Jew as opposed to the bitterness of the as yet unconquered Babylon.

To ignore what Persia did under the hand of God for the Jews as for ourselves would be more than ingratitude;—to deny it would be sacrilege, impugning either the Divine omnipotence or benevolence in one of their most glorious manifestations.

* As noticed above at the head of the supplementary Lecture, I have been much gratified to know that some of these Lectures have been read aloud to sympathetic audiences in Bombay;—and I am pleased to hope that others of them may be so honoured. It is this which explains the recalling of ideas already once before expressed. I am reminded of the continual repetitions inevitable in a volume of sermons.

† See the first Lecture.

‡ Are more than this average affected by Christianity?

If it was at all effective in the sense which I have urged, it cannot be described as less than the most wonderful pre-Christian religious work of the Divine Power outside of Israel.* Arithmetic itself becomes sacrosanct.†

As to both of these elements—'numbers' and 'time'—Israel stood far in the second place, owing her supremacy alone to the intensity of her religious feeling. Being insignificant in numbers, she also reached these results much later. Her immortality was for the most part a dim, shadowy, half-conscious state very like the classic Hades—with little judgment and heaven or fiery hell, and with but transient gleams of vivacity.‡

[(—This is notorious.§ Let the reader take up his pre-Exilic Bible and read Kings and Chronicles—ten chapters at a time—he will be profoundly struck with this marked negative peculiarity :—the evil kings did their 'evil' in the sight of the Lord, died, were buried in their appropriate sepulchres, 'slept with their fathers,' and their varying sons reigned in their stead ;—so the good kings did 'good' in the sight of the Lord, died, and were buried in their several tombs, and where is there any judgment for the evil or for the good, and where any Hell for the one or Heaven for the other—the 'Semitic future state' before the exile ignored or scarcely hinted at these last, as every scholar knows.|| Look at the very Ten Commandments—the place, of all others, where we should most expect to find it—where is there

* Can even this exception hold as valid ?

† If this interior system operated upon a vast population tenfold, if not a hundredfold, more numerous than any other analogously affected, then every century through which that influence has persisted multiplies the bulk of this effect ;—but this system had been at work in Persia for prehistoric periods ;—the numbers seriously influenced must therefore have been very great. To the element of numbers must therefore be added that of time, which, indeed, combines with it.

‡ Expansions to the first Lecture.

§ And it was preached in my pulpit close on forty years ago, the speaker not having been then thought particularly 'broad.'

|| And as has been long since popularly ceded.

any Last Judgment, even there?—where is there any just reward or punishment?—The future state is not even mentioned. Who has not been shocked by this? It was during the horrors of the Exile that God's people began to doubt whether, indeed, the righteous 'never was forsaken' in this life;—like ourselves, when similarly situated amidst financial ruin,* they turned bitterly to God, and sang the finest, if, at the same time, the most terrific, of their hymns (see Ps. cxxxvii., with its close, if, indeed, that close be genuine†). [Then, soon after, we begin to hear of 'awaking from the dust,' of a judgment, rhetorically majestic beyond description (see Daniel;—'Revelation,' is its echo); then we first hear of a 'golden age,' culminating in the thousand years of Chiliasm (N.T.);—then, first, the angels assume their names and forms, becoming 'princes';—then a conscious 'immortality' becomes defined;—then the Saviour was 'promised long'—and 'the Gentiles were to rejoice in His light,' and 'the earth'—not alone Judæa—'was to be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.' It soon became a complete pre-Christianity, with the known results.)]‡

But may not the Persian system, in spite of all just said above, have likewise acquired these views suddenly?—By no means; for such beliefs as these—a God-Unity, a developed Angelology, an Immortality, Resurrection, Judgment, a Heaven (of recompense) with a definitive Hell, a millennial Restoration with a virgin-born Restorer—*inexorably* presuppose far-distant *antecedents* foreshadowing their coming-on in the same literature in which they became at last embodied, *unless that literature conspicuously lacks such antecedents. In Persia this foreshadowing stares us in the*

* Reprinted from the First Lecture.

† [(Hell itself was not quite quick enough for their fierce vengeance.)]

‡ Extract from a speech delivered in London at a reception kindly given by the late Mr. N. M. Cooper (a leading Parsi), at which Sir George Birdwood and Professor Moulton were also guests, in June, 1910,—and from articles elsewhere communicated.

*face** (—see also the *Rig Veda*), but in *pre-Exilic Israel* there is no trace of it.*

[—*Interlude and Excursus, with continuous recapitulation, upon the separate and parallel movement.*

The Religions were the same—that is to say, as to their main higher elements, and this without external historical connection within historic or even otherwise ‘memorial’ times, for it was seventy odd years before Babylon became Persian, after the Jews arrived there. Do we think that we have any right to ignore this or to belittle it, involving, as it does, a most signal work of God, and dealing, as no other question does, with the human psychic unity, new to Israel, immemorial in Iran?;—and do we regard these facts as only fitted to arouse our orthodox suspicions? I think, on the contrary, that we shall be called to account for it if we neglect them.—

If these vast multitudes of persons—on one side vast—in those regions throughout such long periods of time were so marvellously reached by them, elaborating them further to quasi-identical conclusions—recall the list above—in places and times so far separated from each other that neither one of the two races had, up to a certain date, ever yet heard popularly of the other, speaking reciprocally unknown tongues, and yet evolving views so essential to spiritual growth,—surely this proves that this development was inevitable and beneficial. Please to remember that I am not here rapidly considering loose items in credulity upon the other life which are well-nigh universal to mankind, no nations having ever appeared without them vaguely founded upon dreams and diseased visions,—I am dealing with two closely compacted systems symmetrically filled out as if carefully pre-arranged, also established, and only with these.

That God-Unity has *with* it a definitive Angelology, its personalities approaching identity with the Godhead as At-

* One would say, indeed, that these tendencies must have long been latent among the keen-witted Jews awaiting only the first stir to burst them into bloom.

tributes, or included with Ahura as if in an Heptade, —for He is, later, if only through confusion of ideas, ‘one of a Seven’,—an Immortality *with* a Resurrection,—a forensic Judgment *with* a plain heaven, and a condemnation *with* a positive Hell,*—a restoring benefactor, who was to be born out of the common course, a renewed earth in a paradise, which, with all the inevitable accretions of grotesque puerility, yet became marvellously effective none the less in a superior spiritual sense,—and all this in parallel development absolutely without any (?) previous immediate external communication between the two. I call this a ‘marvellous phenomenon’ indeed, and as solemn as it is wonderful, dealing also with the psychic unity in a manner otherwise unknown;—*and yet all of it is marred or lost the moment we trace all these identities to one and the self-same recent external, historical, tactual connection*, the one set of ideas having merely migrated in the mass, so to speak of it, with some suddenness from Persian Babylonia to Babylonian, and later ‘Persian,’ Israel,—mechanically borrowed.

The migration of good ideas is indeed to be desired, and we have long endeavoured to further it even with missionary zeal,† but certainly it is a different thing from the spontaneous origin of these views out of the primaeval psychic human forces. As the ‘wonderful phenomenon’ first of all proves that these views were inevitable in the unending cycles of creation, so they contain elements of supreme utility, as no one wishes to deny, they being, in fact, the secondary utterances of the Beneficent Deity, and this notwithstanding the encrustations of erroneous acceptations, all centring in the unsurpassable doctrine of subjective recompense which no religion had ever expressed so fully as the Iranian. Such, then, is the ‘phenomenon,’ the original self-growth of these compacted thoughts from forces con-

* With a subjectivity almost organic in the Iranian coming less obviously to light in Israel;—recall ‘he went to *his own* place,’ one of the very few Semitic occurrences.

† Recall the great work of S. J. Mills.

stitutionally present in the human personality, dormant even in the animal,—and coming inevitably into apex and activity in the course of ages in parallel developments more rapidly indeed, where the first ‘spring’ of them was strongest.—)]

*But the other enormous, if secondary, question now comes back upon us with accumulating force:—*did or did not the so widely extended, and yet compactly moulded Aryan creed in which the Israelites were engulfed, so to speak of it, during their first Exilic centuries in Persian Babylon exercise any *later and supervening* beneficial influence upon these already accepted but new-found similar convictions among the Jews? Every conceivable circumstance affirms the reciprocal influence of the two systems, the one upon the other,—and in view of the very great superiority in the position of the recently successful Persians to that occupied by the handful of mourning captives, that influence upon the side of Persia must have been preponderating.

Here was Israel upon the one side, for long pre-Exilic centuries without a pointed hope of any such an Immortality as most of us hold dear, without a definitive Judgment, without a Resurrection, without a clear Heaven, a Millennium (or a Hell), yet suddenly at once awakened to these expectations by a calamity which had brought swift ruin upon their remnant, while their status was, at times, much like that of slaves, or worse* ;—and *vis-à-vis* to them were Median multitudes—military, civil, priestly, princely, with their illustrious Imperial figure at their head—and these, only a few brief decades later on, swarming in the streets and roads of Persian Babylon, the city with its province now from that time on the Persian capital.

Aryans to a man, these Medo-Persians—as we might almost say of them—they had long since been possessed with that same hope of full future conscious life beyond the grave which the Jews had just acquired—with much

* Expansions and repointings of particulars already hinted at above, and here supposed to have been earlier orally delivered.

emotion, let us believe.* With what surprise, then, growing to astonishment, must the excited Semites of the early Captivity have first discovered this grateful fact! Here they were themselves just new-born novices, as it were—a grouplet of beginners in a full system of Immortality—doubtless also much affected by the impression that their views were a new discovery, and stirred to their utmost depths with all the emotional effects of regeneration in its train. But when the Persian army appeared, whose victory and continued presence were hailed as their temporal salvation, they discovered, to their amazement, that their own fresh ideas upon futurity were an ancient creed with their new-found friends, and that they were held almost universally—not always, of course, with that personal fervour which the Jews then felt as neophytes,—but that they were most certainly held with ponderous conviction by the very chief representatives of the new Babylonian life, who would be, of course, the so-called Magian priesthood.

Everything, as regarded also from every reasonable point of view, looks rather toward this later influence of the great religious patron nation upon their once suffering, but now grateful, protégés, while but few have suggested the other direction to the current. ‘Affection,’ alone of itself, must have had something to do with the intricate psychic motions inevitably stirred within the one party in the vivid situation. The signal Conqueror of their oppressors would be naturally the object of their enthusiasm, as would be, indeed, the leading personages in his garrisons. Think of the change which Cyrus occasioned in their cir-

These are the obvious ineffaceable facts which the most ultra-conservative of all historical theologians will not, because he cannot, attempt to dispute, they being the A B C of all historical religious knowledge upon the points. No Bible-class, nor indeed should any Sunday-school instructor, be without this knowledge as to this most solemn circumstance. *It was Our Own religion in a friendly race*;—and this should be rather more than less pressing upon the attention of every student of our Holy Faith, teacher or taught,—that is to say, so long as we hold to this spontaneous growth of Immortality among the Jews.

circumstances at his advent, and see how they recalled it in Isaiah xlv.-xlv. My claim in argument is, therefore, for a very strong and completely surrounding and enveloping *later* and *supervening* influence of the North Persian One-Godism, Angelology, Immortality, Soteriology, Judgment, Resurrection, Millennium, Heaven, and Recompense, upon the same slightly earlier developments in Israel during the Captivity.

[(-But let me also not be misunderstood here once again while repeating a principle which I hold to be crucial in all these discussions. Many have, indeed, held, and still hold, to the striking opinion, so often here noticed to refute it, that this entire scheme of Persian theology and eschatology, not only subsequently confirmed, defended, and encouraged—in a word, ‘*saved*’ these views within the Jewish Pharisaism—a proposition which we may accept—but that the Persians *originally* and *first of all* taught the Jews these things in their full, definite, out-formed shape, as a whole, through dominant influence or through charm.

I do not regard it as being at all a just or honourable thing to lay one illogical straw in the path of those many who have held, or still hold, to such a view, if they hold to it with honesty. *Any so-called, or real, divine authority, through inspiration or the like, has, as I firmly hold with the most advanced of opponents, little, if anything, to do with the fact that portions of the mere mental ideas involved have been imparted through various sources wholly unconnected with any previous especial development of the faith concerned.* Inspiration has, as I contend, nothing whatsoever to do with the question of the mental channels through which the bare ideas of any good creed may have been imparted to a favoured race or people;—and much do I deplore the prevalence of a contrary impression.*-)]

* See these remarks in other words at the close of the first Lecture. Repetitions of an admonitory nature and the recalling of ideas are here unavoidable, for the reasons already stated.

THIRD LECTURE.

THE PHILOSOPHIC INITIATIVE OF AVESTA IN THE LIGHT OF APPLICATION, WITH CONCURRENT RECAPITULATION, ESPECIALLY ADDRESSED TO PARSIS.*

I. What—so some of us may inquire—is practically after all this value of Avesta upon which such emphasis is laid? Professors of philosophy in the central home of learning would not ask of us such a question;—but it is still well worth our while to suppose it put and to answer it,—for those who wish to name it may be reassured at once.

The intellectual initiative of Avesta was, like its fellows, a condensed psychic force, evolving almost untold results even in economics.

The immeasurable financial, political, and educational force in Christianity surpasses that of Avesta, but yet it affords us a lead in our discussion here. Thousands of millions could hardly stand as a proper expression for the hard results of the Christian system;†—and Zarathushtrianism once scored as heavily, for in remoter influence‡ it once helped the other on.—Avesta has been this eminent initial force in history;—and history, let us remember, is the compact summary of crucial facts. Christianity, let us claim it, has been the most potent of all forces to restrain murder, rapine, theft, and arson;—but Zarathushtrianism

* As an appeal for a higher appreciation of their impressive lore.

† What was Church property once worth,—and what is it not worth yet?—in buildings, lands, hospitals, organisations for collecting funds, etc.

‡ Beyond all question.

was before it in the same line of preventive causality without immediate early historical connection,* and by assisting gained an after-share in the results.

The Nature of the Psychic Forces here.

(a) We open the Avesta, and first of all we meet, immediately upon its folios, what I have already described in much detail above.†—It was a God, who is supreme indeed over the good creation, but saved through limitation from all responsibility for the evils which so unjustly hamper us, with regard to which He was neither implicated through origination nor permission, these evils being, as we have later discovered, inherently necessary to existence. And surely this was the first clue ever given to this now inevitable opinion?—No one before our sage had so traced all our woes to the counter-creative activity of an independent Evil Spirit, who was also necessarily original and eternal,‡—and who upon his part was within his limits verily an evil ‘God of this world,’—a scheme which was beyond all question first motived by a school of which Zarathushtra became the leading mind. No one has ever doubted that the Evil God was thought of because the evils of experience seemed utterly incompatible with the absolute omnipotence of any good Supreme Being§;—therefore that scheme initiated within all known history the entire clearness of modern conclusions on this subject. The idea may have been mooted earlier, but we have no record of it.

(b) The Archangels also of this Supreme Being who in

* Zarathushtrianism was identical with Christianity only in the immemorial fundamental elements in prehistoric ages from which each developed; see above and throughout.

† But which we cannot name too often,—so, necessarily also when we wish to link it in with companion issues.

‡ See the first and second Lectures.

§ Some idea of ‘mere indignity’ had effect among other considerations;—other evil elements aside from right and wrong, doubtless had something to do with it;—at times much.

the highest conceivable sense also 'limit' Him, were no mere winged creatures of the poetic imagination, but, most sublimely, His own attributes, those few mighty, if simple, essential principles which alone save life from being chaos, and the Universe from being 'Hell';—they govern the Supreme God Himself;—He could not violate them if He would. Could anything be more impressive? He is—as said—otherwise One only and supreme;—for the few subordinate things, called 'deities,' were His creation;—recall our own Archangels;—and this in no way impairs His sovereignty;—compare likewise our Tri-unity;—there can be but one 'supreme' good object, but one 'Greatest Creator.'*

This, as said and as understood above—this idea of a Supreme God still fettered by His character—led the ancient world at its date as a scheme of conservative theism, with all its vast economic consequences;—and this initiative is what gives it its 'scientific' importance. [(—Can anything modern of the kind be compared with it? Instead of presenting such a contradiction as a good God, who could create immortal beings predestined by Himself to everlasting flames, He was actually in essence rather more limited by His own attributes than even by His supposed terrific personal Opponent.† He could not possibly have been personally concerned in such an origination.))] Here we have first of all in obvious light, the chief elements in all theological representation personified, saving the nature of the Most High God from the crime of permitting the origin, and continuing the existence of the greatest, saddest, and most familiar of all the sorrows which force themselves upon us.

The horrors of evil existence—so it is unavoidably implied—were, as said, inevitably fixed as constitutive links in the chain of causality, and this in the very vital elements of that existence itself, with its supposed 'will-freedom'; recall Heraclitus;—the Good God was therefore morally,

* In the Veda Mitra was the full mate of Varuṇa, but in the Avesta this independence was absorbed in the supreme 'creationism' of Ahura.

† So, in the interior elements of the subject.

but, praise to His Holy Name, only 'morally' supreme, never mechanically omnipotent ;—He could not disintegrate the very laws of His own being[‡] ;—'it must needs be that the offence come.' This alone was an immense idea, if, indeed, but one in ten thousand ever understood it ;—there have been many thousands since. The contrary to it would be mental mania, which only fails to make men 'demons' because we dare not think ;—recall the third creed, 'incomprehensible,' 'incomprehensible,' 'incomprehensible.' A wonderful thought, indeed, it was for the time, 700 to 900 B.C., and for the place, North-east or North-west Iran ;—† and a wonderful thought it is for all time, if we could but afford to permit ourselves to see it.

No—the Good God, according to this implied principle, never made a 'Hell' beneath or here ;—that 'Hell' has been as eternal in the past as it shall be in the future.

(c) The Constituent Elements of the Gāthic Character.

And where at such a date was there also such a discrimination of men 'as to thought, word, and deed.' A few little words‡ these are doubtless, and common enough at present, as we may say, but if acted on, still how deep ;—as all well know, they, little and few though they be, would, if followed, then raise the world from the 'death of sin to the life of righteousness' ;—and they find their first original here ;—for where was there at such a date, and in such a place, their duplicate ? They were, therefore, epoch-making in the redemption of man from brutality. See also 'that bodily life and the mental'—again but a few little words, and often falsified by hypocrites ;—but, while they express a refined view which soon became familiar,

There was one thing which, thanks to His supreme limitation, He could not be, —a felon.

† This is the place most clearly indicated to us ;—but it pervaded Iran ;—see the first Lectures.

‡ 'A few little words' indeed now left to us, but those few imply hundreds whose memory has perished.

they were once more again epoch-making in the unfolding of our civilisation. It was a 'few little words' which revealed the Copernican theory ;—Isaac Newton's law expressed itself in nine words ;—see the memorable fragments of Heraclitus, how short they are !—It is 'a few little words' always which awake the world.

(d) Subjective Recompense.

And where elsewhere, at such a date, does the wicked's 'own soul' shriek at him on a Judgment Bridge ;—and where does 'his own beatified conscience' meet and reward the blest man on the path to a Heaven again of 'good thoughts, and words and deeds' ? 'Virtue' is here first in history 'its own reward,' so definitely, and 'vice is its own punishment.'*—If this had not been said then, much immediate amelioration might have been postponed ;—recall our Lord's own later searching words as to 'the thought the essence of the crime.'

Were these things mere historic relics of the past—gems, so to speak, and nothing else ?

I have elsewhere, just above, implied the vast results of every kind which flowed from these psychic forces ; but it will be well to return to them for a moment and to expend a few further comments upon them ;—and first, their acute spiritual result. Zarathushtra was no hypocrite ;—hypocrisy was not then the fashion ;—nor had people learned that it might pay,—and if but one man even in a hundred thousand throughout those coming ages really sought God in the manner said (with thought, word, and deed), with the 'care of the poor' as his charge, and a 'Heaven of good principles' in his eye, what more than this could we desire or expect ? This was what we used to call 'conversion.' What Christian or pre-Christian could think of purer character ? Even such an average as that just named—one in a hundred thousand—would soon mount up, a

* So, epoch-making as a distinctive delineation ;—see the first Lecture.

‘gem’ which lived on with vital effect is a ‘gem’ which we should study and revere. Tens of thousands up to millions must have been made penitent throughout those pre-Christian centuries by Faiths like this,—so from statistics. Was this ‘nothing,’—a ‘trivial result’? If we have souls ourselves we must value good in souls from that one fact only.

It is our duty to God, to ourselves, and to our fellow-men, to study this and to pray over it.

(e) Then the Quasi-external Realistic Reward in Heaven.

The present Spiritual World likewise must be taken into consideration. We—the most of us—believe that souls live on, that they are, as it is said, ‘immortal.’ If so, the soul of Zarathushtra, at the head of his innumerable spiritual descendants, Iranian or others, multitudes as they were and are, exists to-day as saved on high;—is that nothing? I do not at all apologise for having mentioned it. No true prophet, of course, whether Jewish or, indeed, Christian, could despise saved men of their own Cyrus’s race, the race of their Deliverer, their God’s ‘anointed,’ who likewise served the ‘God of Heaven’ presumably ‘in thought, in word, and deed.’ What Christian, or pre-Christian pious Jew, could have asked more than that souls should strive for a Heaven of holiness in such a spirit, and with a record of corresponding deeds? Souls uncounted are in Heaven now this moment, if there be indeed any Heaven anywhere at all, solely in consequence of things like this, this strongly formulated, established, but simplest,* Law. Is this then, again, ‘nothing’? One might challenge opposition. No sane human being who has a heart can doubt that this is something.

(f) And there are external rewards upon earth ;—these

* The entire mass of evangelical Christendom, with its enormous effects, claims only the very slightest number of points ;—they rejoice in reducing all to ‘conversion.’

forces live on here. All human life is physically 'one, —so science shows us, the father surviving within the son, so, actually, as also the mother ;—and a soul's sentiments pass on through example, teaching, warning, discipline, and promising—that is, by entailed mental tradition as even by intellectual inheritance. If there be any good in us to-day, we are now what we are of that good, because Zarathushtra and his like were what they were three thousand years ago ;—they sowed the seed ; they focussed the scattered holier forces. This is even medical ; see above. Ideas themselves are hereditary, not only traditional,—so that we need not ask 'what good is it at all ?' Our own living status at this hour is here involved ;—if we can earn our livings now, and keep our property, we owe it to the Saints of Iran and their like in India, Egypt, Babylon, and Israel ;—they first planted these principles here and when they did. Who does not see it ?—and this—let me repeat it,—if but one among a hundred thousand of our forebears were 'heart-devoted' to a God of honour. All the good on earth to-day is a continuation in an unbroken line, largely psychical if not physical ;—Asha is 'incarnate' now, as when Yasna XLIII was written ;—this guides our 'living' present, which is ever becoming future. History is here no mere amusement, and the Gāthas, with their large lost portions, are the foundations of this history. (*g*) By studying the past we can, first of all, now and here, awake our thankfulness to God for what is good in it ;—and this helps us now and here ; and the evil in it warns us ;—is this again nothing ? If we have any feeling, it is beyond all question, 'something.' So only can we understand the present, take courage for the future, with foresight. By recalling the virtues of the past—if there were any virtues in that past, and some there were beyond all question—we respect our race ;—and this gives us still further hope and energy,—for so we respect ourselves. And (*h*), as to antiquity, again, the further back we can trace such Hymns as Zarathushtra's—and

scores of the like once lived and told their tale—the wider the circles of their influence, for the further back they began their work, the longer has been the time for them to produce effect ;—we fatuate ourselves when we ask, ‘What good is there in what is old,’ even ‘old goodness’? The further back the holy effort, the more were the people who have felt it, some ameliorated beyond all question—so ‘saved.’ Hearts by the myriad would have broken but for this lore, homes by the thousand would have been destroyed :—I challenge the direst infidel to doubt it. Virtuous energy has been, and is, incited by such laws, and virtuous energy fills our barns with plenty and our chests with gold. This is physiology, as I intend it, the hardest of all hard-headed fact ;—these doctrines of 3,000 years ago are among the things which save us now ;—it is ingratitude to slur them or to conceal them.

II. We can now return, with all just said, to emphasise once more the ‘most stupendous’ event* which ever happened in that secular history of Israel ;—for it has been neglected,—one of the most ‘stupendous’ also in all history in view of what we deem its consequences.

I have endeavoured above with little expansion to point out bluntly the immense effects of Christianity upon every conceivable interest ;—it is not further necessary to dwell upon that matter.--[(Any person capable of an economic estimate will see at once that our Religion underlies our material civilisation, having become to a large extent the land’s common law, its great vitalities of truth carrying away all the defects of mere historical or dogmatic error.)] The influence of Judaistic Christianity, with its ten Commandments and its crucified Redeemer, has made the world a hundredfold more possible :—the Coliseum would not be conceivable to-day, nor would be—parts of—Pompeii. But Zoroastrianism was a twin-sister to that faith which made this change. though an independent one, pre-dating Exilic

* See p. 42, second Lecture.

Judaism ;—and but for that political power which represented Zarathushtra the voice of Ezra would never have been heard ;—the Divine Being might have selected some other means to accomplish similar universal results, but they would not have been these means,—nor these results. As scientific historians we are forced to say that an intensely effective element in the combined forces would have been totally wanting, whether replaced by some other influences or not, we need not ask. Judaism with Christianity then was, and is, an incalculable power in the world predominating for good, Muhammadism being their offspring, and no one of the three would have been what it was save for Persia—secularly, certainly not ;—nor would Buddha have come to light but for Persia's twin-sister Lore, the Veda. Had Cyrus not arrived when he did with his permanent conquest, then, for all that we can see, the re-settlement of Judah at Jerusalem by Persia would have been indefinitely postponed* ; possibly it would never have taken place,—and Judah would have been left to sing other sad psalms in her vast captive home.

The nascent hopes of a definitive spiritual world on high, with its grand items of the creed, might have been a mere flash, smothered by the rich forms of Babylonian superstition ;—the animated history of the re-founded Jewish polity would never have transpired ; nor would the prophets of the Return, with the second Isaiah at their head, have ever penned their fervid chapters ;—nor would the Asmonean Princes have made Judah's name for the first time glorious in war ;—nor would, indeed, the Son of Mary have been born where He was, to rule futurity.†

But Cyrus *did* arrive at last, and the vast chain of causalities began to move.

What other event of a similar kind can be compared with it !—this, almost aside from the Persian religious element. That course was taken which alone made our

* Repointing and expansions of things said above ; see the preceding Lectures.

† Not in a nation rebuilt by Cyrus.

Judaistic-Christianity and Muhammadism possible,—while the philosophy of the ‘great renunciation’ was likewise spreading.

(a) Then this action was neither insignificant nor accidental.

Sometimes very insignificant events have produced immeasurable effects—the Crucifixion (!) of itself would have been deemed ‘trivial’ by many ;—see Tacitus. But here was a move only to be looked upon as petty on account of the pettiness of a ‘nation,’ saved by it in a small side-place within the largest and most energetic Empire of its day or of its past*—ruling from Egypt to India and from the Ocean to the Caspian. It was altogether a big move on the part of a big power. The conquest of Judæa was but a mite in the main conquest of Babylonia, though her estimate would not be ours ;—and the re-creation of Judæa was but a fraction of one of the world’s greatest consummations,—if to us a colossal fraction. To neglect this in our political studies would be as fatal as it would be in our religious searches ;—regarded as a grasp upon genius alone, it preserved to us the world’s greatest book ;†—the Iliad was different ;—and then, last of all, because not externally so obvious to us, it brought into Babylon a great conservative Religion which soon showed identities with Zion.

III. Here I must make one confirmatory point not yet elsewhere sufficiently pushed home, but, in fact, it is the chief ‘motive’ to this present Lecture of ‘application.’ None deny the copious abundance of Persian allusions in the Scriptures, centring in the somewhat touching crisis of the Return ;—here the great restorative decrees occur with requests by the Restorers for divine assistance ;—Judah becomes again a nation‡—a mere item among the more than score incorporated in the mighty Empire, but still a nation, if we could call her that. In her scriptures capable philologists discover over a hundred Persian words, and the

* Persia ruled mid-Asia where she liked, and ruled it rigorously.

† The Bible.

‡ See Ezra, Nehemiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, etc.

most superficial of readers cannot fail to be struck with one dire but most overshadowing significant particular,—that is, the close approach of the new Jewish Satan in those exilic pre-Christian and Christian times,—a Satan so exactly like the Persian Añgra Mainyu* ;—see him especially in the New Testament, where he is actually termed ‘a God,’ ‘the God.’ Where did Satan ever come to such excessively close quarters before in early Jewish times? Some even doubt altogether whether it was ‘Satan’ who tempted Eve, the serpent being one of the ‘beasts of the field.’ And where else was ‘he’ at all so prominent as in Iran’s faith? At the first we only infer later actual historical literary influence, but scientific history has here also something quite additional to say.

(b) Just as we know from the scant fragments left us of Avesta that its literature was originally manifold as great—so we may be sure that the religious political communications from Persia and to Persia still left us in the Bible, were but a tithe of what were really exchanged ;—nay, scarce a hundredth part ;—so we must always measure things in ‘scientific’ history ;—a tithe, or a hundredth part, only of such evidence, survives ;—this has been forgotten by most of us.† But the intercourse between Great Babylon and her tiny province must have become continuous, the political machinery in that Empire being kept taut ;—and Babylon, let us never forget, was Persia’s Capital.‡

Insignificant as the Jews must have been politically,

* See above.

† Readers used to imagine that all which Persia had to do with Judah is contained in what is left to us of all the greatly numerous documents and fragments which once made up the Bible. ‘Yes,’ we used to say, ‘Cyrus is mentioned in an interesting manner’—‘he decreed the Restoration ;’—‘Darius is mentioned,’ ‘Xerxes is mentioned and Artaxerxes’ ;—and ‘Babylon was Persian.’ Did we even know this last? First of all, we never dreamt that half our Bible perhaps has been lost to us, nor that but a hundredth part of the Persian decrees have been preserved ;—it is indeed well-nigh a miracle that so much has escaped annihilation.

‡ Practically, if not actually, so for two centuries more or less.

though their city flanked the road to Egypt, no thorough historian doubts that they attracted more than their natural share of imperial attention, for beyond all question their incisive religious animus gained the notice of the Government as of the Emperors, unless we ignore Ezra as pure forgery. See how their religious lyrics became an object of envious derision to the pre-Persian Babylonians.* Persian notice of Judah would argue reciprocal 'notice' of Persia on the part of Judah, even if we had no positive record of it, as *vice versa*; this I have said before†—and what a record have we got of it deemed, too, inspired.

(c) Some writers used to deny 'all connection' of Jews with Persia—especially religious connection and mutual influence—and these persons‡ would recoil when we show how tremendous this influence was;—but we can follow up our advantage and show from Scripture a tense activity on the part of Persia, whether in flank, or originally direct;—it might well stagger all contenders.

So,—the *Jews got nothing religious* from their deliverers,—did they not!—This (!) is what we were called upon to consider, though it would astonish any sane outside critic;—but I gather that the *Decrees* had some little of 'religion' about them. Read their astonishing sentences—astonishing still, if yet but half of them be genuine. He, Cyrus, was the representative of the dominant Asiatic power—mid-Asiatic,—also its unique religious representative;—see the Inscriptions;—(they break all records in such writings, focussing piety if they did not really impassion it).—He, Cyrus, forerunner of Darius, adopts the God of Israel as the 'God of Heaven' (Deva),§—avows himself to have received a revealed command, and is so stated to have received it by the Jewish writer: 'All the kingdoms of the

* See above, Ps. cxxxvii.

† See my *Zarathushtra, Philo, the Achaemenids and Israel*, 1905-06, Vol. II.

‡ Presumably they exist no more.

§ A curious Iranian exception, indeed, if my conjecture be correct, for 'deva' otherwise too sadly represented 'Demon' there in Iran.

earth,' so he begins, 'hath the Lord, the God of Heaven, given me,' thus repeating his own now lost domestic edicts, anticipating Behistūn;—this alone is some guarantee of genuineness;—'and he hath charged me to build Him an house in Jerusalem'—just as he had rebuilt temples in Persia and in Babylonia. There was some little *religion* and even 'theology' there, I think. [(We have strenuously worked in foreign missions—here we have meanwhile a 'supreme record' with non-supported itineration.)],—Cyrus, like Darius, the Supreme Head of Auramazda's Faith, accepts Jahveh Elohim apparently as His equal with another name;—or did he literally mean by 'God of Heaven' his own Auramazda?—here named as 'Asura, Ahura,* God of the shining sky.'

He acknowledges Jahveh Elohim as the 'God of Heaven,' who had charged him to build a House—and the inspired writer corroborates his claim to inspiration, even to a most incisive form of it;—he actually wrote: 'The Lord stirred up the Spirit of Cyrus,' and adds, 'in order that the word of the Lord by Jeremiah might be fulfilled,' see Jer. li.;—and this proclamation, adopting and acknowledging the 'God of Israel,' became politically universal according to the passages;—he, Cyrus, so it reads, 'made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, his Empire, and also put it in writing.†'

I fear that very few of us, indeed—even of our Bible-teachers—have ever at all taken in what this means,—if, indeed, but the half of it be true.

Those were no days of electric intercommunication, but

* Perhaps he only meant that Jahveh Elohim was a great Secondary God, in full forceful harmony with his Supreme Ahura, much perhaps like Mithra, or like Gabriel, or like the 'Spirit,' as some would understand it;—and was that nothing for the Persian Emperor to say. (Vedic 'Asura of Heaven.')

† In some now lost inscription or document. Portions of such edicts amplifying the Behistūn inscriptions have actually been found in Babylon; see 'Babylonische Miscellen,' Weissbach; and also papyri fragments; see 'Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka,' Sachau, 1911.

that edict, if it was ever really so issued, must have held up the Holy Faith for the first time to a vast public in the first of the then existing civilised powers in all its religious centres.*

(d) And we see from the Avesta with the Inscriptions what kind of a 'God' Cyrus, with his successors, must have thought of when he so wrote. He and they would gladly have received support from any serious Deity wherever he had obtained credit ;—and small blame to the lot of them for this ;—but if Cyrus, with Darius, really thought chiefly of the 'greatest of the Gods who made this earth and yon heaven,' 'who made man,' with all the lesser Gods,—if he really accepted Yahveh Elohim as but another name for his Aura-mazda—was there, then, no *religion* there ;—or even supposing, as I have suggested, that he merely thought Jahveh to be a high secondary good God ;—was that nothing ? Little wonder that Christians name 'St. Cyrus.' Here was even religious tenderness beyond all doubt made practical by deeds, with political benevolence and political church-building. The Faith of God was authoritatively proclaimed by her great master to Israel as to the world. Nobody who is sincere and sane would call that a 'trivial' circumstance.

So much for a pointed propaganda followed up with action. Even if Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes were politically but half sincere, they made good their assertions, and with great ultimate effect,—not that they fully understood them.

(e) And was the later influence of Persia also of little account religiously as a factor in development ? I have firmly asserted that the dominant system of the Persians only later assisted the Jewish orthodoxy,—but was that 'assistance' trivial, especially in view of the large negations of one influential party ?† What competent historian can

* I am proud to recall again the epoch-making work of my forekinsman, but what 'mission' has approached that act of Cyrus in spreading evangelistic light ?

† The non-eschatologists (Sadducees).

doubt that this influence was great—perhaps crucial—till ‘life and immortality were brought to light’? Unless we totally deny all ordinary intercourse between immense Persia and its pet-favoured subject nationality, the inferences become overwhelming. If Persia produced any effect at all—and who but a fatuate can doubt this—after restoring the Jewish nationality, with its religion, then this influence must have been pronounced indeed. And as the acknowledged religious influence was so massive, so an animated intellectual result was unavoidable. From what source did our Lord receive that word ‘paradise,’ now with us also a name for Heaven, used in the most awful moment of our religious history? One word like that implies an hundred once used in Israel, now lost to us;—this is the *main point* I am now endeavouring to drive home as our focus in procedure—: whence came the hundred odd other Persian words of our surviving Hebrew Bible? * That hundred imply a thousand;—so, in scientific history. † Whence came the military roads, and whence the aqueducts? ‘Every depression was to be exalted’—levelled up—‘and every elevation was to be brought low’—made passable. ‡

This point, which, as I assert, is crucial, has been fatally neglected, this ‘estimate by the multiple.’ To read even the overwhelming ‘persianism’ of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, with Jeremiah, the new Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the rest, as if they were all that Persia did and said in those connections, is to lose ourselves to all sound reason. What other science ever so limited its evidence? Who but an incompetent would take a few stray nuggets as all of a precious metal to be found in any given place suspected to be gold-bearing?

I assert, with every careful attention to what I say, that the capture and occupation of Babylon with its Provinces by Cyrus was not only a mighty event in the history of

* See above.

† This is the only way to get a straight view in serious investigation.

‡ For the Persian ‘posts,’ the earliest known in history.

politics and war, which no one disputes, but that its results, both immediate, in restoring the Jewish nation, and later, in protecting and influencing its worship, were well-nigh *incalculable*;—see above. Without it, where—as I have so often asked—would the post-exilic, pre-Christian creed have been?—Where the Christian?—Where the Muhammadan?

IV. It is therefore our close Christian duty to study this event in all its bearings. The foundations for this study I have been here endeavouring to lay anew, as in all my well-meant works. How can we study the Bible without studying the Inscriptions and the Bible of that Restorer who alone made our exilic Bible possible?

(a) In studying the Zend Avesta let us first winnow out the chaff (with no offence to Parsis), for every like religious document must have its puerilities. To fling aside the Zend Avesta on account of some of these shreds of quaint ancient fable would be only to prove ourselves as silly.* Out of the mass of them the grand forms of a noble faith soon rear themselves, and we should yield them our attentive veneration.

* See the first Lecture.

FOURTH LECTURE.

THE AVESTA AND THE VEDA.*

[(*Was Philo's Logos the source of Vohumanah?*—a light question in Avesta and its connections which may introduce our theme.—

One of the most ill-timed devices with which a group of parasites ever endeavoured to wreck a subject was a suggestion of two decades past (for a moment also repeated by a man of reputation,—eating his own recent words);—it was this,—that the Avesta, even in its oldest parts, was no earlier than the Advent, and that one of its Amshaspends was Philo's Logos. This is not the place to waste words on those who do not know that the purpose and 'motive' of the Philonian Greek logos was radically the opposite to the 'motive' of the origin of Vohumanah †, nor that the seven (literally six) cities of refuge mentioned in Philo Judæus did not originally suggest the Seven Spirits of Tobit, Ezekiel, and the Avesta, the *dynamis basilike* of Philo having been taken from the *Kurios* of the Septuagint, which the gifted Alexandrian in his (accidental) ignorance of Hebrew, applied independently. ‡ But it happens that the clear facts which these hasty

* This Lecture was publicly delivered at the Indian Institute in Oxford some years ago;—it has been since made use of in Instructional Lectures. It also appeared as two articles in *East and West* of Bombay in 1902, and was re-edited as enlarged in *The Open Court* of June and December 1910, translated into Italian lately, here appearing in a fourth edition.

† For the Greek *logos* was invented as an intermediary between God and all matter, an idea which presupposes an *original antagonism* between the two utterly repugnant to Zoroastrianism.

‡ See Siegfried, *Philo v. A. als Ausleger der A.T.* p. 214.

observers have so singularly overlooked in claiming Greek origin to *Vohumanah*, possess in themselves exceeding interest (quite apart). And this comes out most fully in the obvious answer which we have to give to a view now held, as I believe, by no expert of authority ;—for the one simple, but at the same time impressive, circumstance which proves, once for all,—and as one would say, without a returning question—that Philo could not have inspired the Gāthas, is the forgotten point (or, perhaps, the as yet too little known one) that the Avesta, as all experts must acknowledge, is almost Veda. If the gifted Jew inspired the one, he could not well have missed the honour of being father to the other also.

Let this then stand as the objective to our entire discussion here,—its ‘text,’ so to speak of it, namely, ‘the almost close identity of Avesta with Veda.')] *

The Veda and the Post-Vedic Indian.

The incalculably rich and varied Indian literature opened to us, indeed, an exceptionally interesting world of early civilisation,—and that so closely subtle and compacted as to be at times almost *blasé*. We have delighted in the grandly simple and highly coloured R̥ik, where gods, heroes, and demons struggle in a maze of close particulars so dim as to specific points, in fact, as to be in places almost a tangle, but all combined in a moving mesh-work out of which life’s passions glint at every turn.—We have enjoyed the calm Brahmanas with their placid puerilities, set here and there with the invaluable lines of early myth and deeper thought; we have been charmed with the melodious epic, till at last the ‘Friendly Counsel’ with its inimitable fables has fairly won our hearts ;—and we have stood throughout in respect at what may well have been

* As this Lecture may appear within a different cover, and upon another date from the others upon the general subject of ‘Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia,’ matter unavoidably comes before us here which has been already touched upon in those previous pages.

the earliest sources of speculative conjecture,—but who ever dreamt that there was a Veda, in some respects equal to it all and superior to much, far up in the misty north, a thousand miles from Ganga, and as old perhaps as the oldest Rik?*

Yet so it was, and it began to be suspected not so very long ago, for the tracing of the particulars still goes freely on. And it is this which, strange to say, brings in the full evidence even of the Indian documents upon some of our own (Occidental) religious dogmas,—of which let the ‘Philonians’ here take notice;—not that there existed any closer historical connection between them and our religious views than that through the Avesta. No one who can read, as we may say, can well deny the identity of many thoughts in Avesta and in our Exilic or post-Exilic sacred Semitic books, even if we did not have the Gāthic demon Asmodeus in the Book of Tobit, where he was opposed, as in the Avesta, by the ‘Seven Spirits,’ not forgetting also the mention of the Persian Avesta city† *Ragha*, *Rāyes*, *Rai*, all in a single piece, though not in a single chapter;—but how much are we startled when we recollect that the R̥ig Veda itself is here related? It is indeed a ‘far cry’ from the Ganges to Jerusalem, or even from the Indus by way of a Persian Babylon,—but longer stages have been ‘laid behind.’ Of course we have the additional item of attraction that the stories of these lores are the tales of our kinsmen,—and why not of our very ancestors?—May they not positively preserve the myths of the ancient tree from which we actually descended?—they certainly concern a bough of it.

Was Avesta then concocted in our A.D. One (*sic*), when the Persian language had been Pahlāvi for centuries?—Did some ancient Chatterton of Teherān at the time of Christ, or just before it, weave such a cunning tale as even

* At least as old as the Brahmanas, possibly much older.

† Recall also the statement that it was ‘also in the cities of the Medes’ where some Jewish tribes were deported.

the Gāthas tell us all unconsciously indeed, as if in passing* and wholly without effort to convince us, nay, even without a single attempt to state any one so-called historic fact in the historical manner?;—if he did, he must have been at work for India as well. But the age for such miracles in letters had ceased, or never was, in Old Iran with all like hidden influences long before it ceased in late Jerusalem.

From this let us proceed a little further.

The First Home of the Aryans in their Migration, as the Tribes divide,—Identities persist.

To trace out, then, our analogies more fully, let us take first of all the familiar name of 'Aryan,' which, while used as an adjective completing the especial name of the Great Indo-germanic race, is also much applied to the present Indians and Iranians. The term occurs frequently enough in the R̥ik, but strange (or, yet again, not so strange) to say, it is only marked as the 'generic' in Avesta, though it appears, as might be expected, enormously widespread over all Europe as well as in south and mid-Asia; see it even in the Celtic *Iran* and in the Irish *Erin*.† So that I need not have paused to allude, if only with a few syllables, to 'distances.' For no one anywhere, as we may now well presume, supposes that the Indians, as we have long since named them, were indigenous to India, or that what influence they may have exerted issued originally and altogether from the land of the Seven Rivers.‡ The present so-called Indians were invaders, of course, coming down as a ruling mass into the lands now known to us as India from the north and the north-west, and by that same Khyber Pass which has seen the ingress of so many differing peoples at memorable epochs. We can easily trace their very movements southward and south-east. The old R̥ik of the Veda mentions the rivers on whose shores

* See my remarks above, in the previous Lectures.

† So it is supposed; cp. *Airyēna V(a)ējah*.

‡ Or 'of the five'; *panj-āb* is the 'five waters.'

they dwelt at successive intervals as they slowly spread. The first Rishis sang of Indus with its tributaries, then the later ones at last of the Ganges. The men of the Brahmanas and commentaries had reached still more distant points in the same ever-persisting direction. But, what is still more decisive, we can also trace the sources of their movements, so to say, backwards to the north, till we find them as far up as mid-Afghanistan;—then, leaving Vedic lore entirely, we actually discover their presence in feeble remnants among the Iranian tribes,—that is to say, we have in Avesta, old and late, the presence of people who oppose the new Iranian party, and who correspond, at least as to the chief name of their deity, to the Indians rather than to the Iranians, for they were termed D(a)eva-worshippers in reprobation. First they are seen in the Gāthic Avesta as deadly foes of the Zoroastrians,* then later as a beaten fragment left behind by their disappearing fellow-countrymen, as a servile class. So, backward and northward we trace the scattered throngs of tribes named Aryan, till we come upon what may have been a quasi-description of the primæval home itself (for all of them, as of all the other Aryans).

It would be, indeed, a point of peculiar, if not of solemn, interest if we could fix the very spot which was once the early scene where the Indo-germanics acquired those dominant characteristics which distinguish them from the hardy Mongol and the brilliant Semite. But beyond all doubt we have really an attempt at least to allude to the 'starting-point' of all Aryan Indo-iranian migration. The account, as it reached us, is contained only in a few sentences amidst much of a later type which could not fail to encrust itself upon it, helping, however, by its very presence to preserve the ancient hints.

We find it, this depictment, in the celebrated first and second *fargards*, or chapters, of the Vendidad, 'first' in the

* Zarathushtrians.

order of printed texts in some editions (but by no means first in the order of genuine priority—this of course). Here we have a sort of rough Genesis with a series of Edens, and with successive expulsions. It is one of the most striking fragments of early fable (enclosing history) which has been left to either Aryans or to Semites.

The exact determining of Localities is, of course, not feasible.

Where the old place precisely was we can, indeed, never know, but the Iranians of the two (the future Indians and Iranians) alone report it, curiously enough.* No place called '*Arya*' is prominent in the Veda, though the word is frequent, but at the very outset of the Avesta document we have the 'fatherland.' It was *Airyana V(a)ejah*, the race's 'start.' The *Aryan*† seems to have been the 'tiller' first rallied to his work, and we have in the scant narratives one of the first records of an attempt to rise above the level of the otherwise universal savage life.

The March of the Aryans.

Wherever the land in fact really was, it cannot fail to impress us, even without the fuller information, as the momentous scene of the first movement of the present dominant races of the world, to subdue predestined subjects.

The stirring Cause.

It would seem to have been somewhere up in the frozen North, for the first resolution to move on came from the con-straining force of weather; that is to say, from cold: 'Ten months winter, two months summer, cold on the land, cold on the water, cold on the plants, cold on all, winter demon-made.' From this began that mighty march of the Aryans, if not of all the Indo-germans, whose subjugating footstep presses everywhere as beneficent, let us hope, as it is

* So far as I know.

† I trace the word to the root *ar*, 'to plough,' as in *aratrum*; see the previous Lectures.

irresistible. It received its first impulse from the unvaried and imperative cause of many similar advances—I need hardly further name it—‘discontent.’ It was, however, no unreasonable nor sudden restlessness, nor was it brought on by a change which was rapid in its effects. Its cause was one of the most unbearable of those powers which afflict us, and also one of the most prohibitive, if not destructive, to the prospects of an early civilisation. Climate, that sovereign power under which the ‘mode of motion’* appears to be modified or diverted (for it cannot be destroyed), was—as so often—the impelling force. Not perhaps for the first time;—that can be hardly possible, but for *a* first time, in an energetic primæval line, it gave the *push of fate*, and stirred in the virile breasts of our forefathers or fore-kinsmen† their first fixed thought of tribal, not to say of national, prospective pioneer adventure as a unit. It was, indeed, no foolish curiosity which led them on, for these Aryans were as little fanciful, if we may judge from their practical points in literature and in polity, as any of the other main divisions of mankind. Their reasons were indeed less trivial than those which induce most similar decisions. They moved out, as we gather from the venerable tale, before the temperature as it chilled, one of the most convincing of all motives for a migration—receding step by step.

Whence came this Climate's change?

What sort of a fall in temperature was this particular one recorded? We know that, in lands now ice-bound throughout the year, the bamboo once grew in torrid heat quite half a foot in thickness and rising to a dozen yards;—so the elephant, as we see from fossil ivory, once stalked in the dense fens of *hot* Siberia. Can it be possible that these strange words of the book Vendīdād actually report a similar change from a similar cause? And was that cause conceivably the original decline of caloric upon the

* Heat.

† *Sic.*

earth's crust,—or was it induced by a sun's periodicity,—colossal inference,—or by what? If it were the former, what an obtrusive item, or rather what a dominant occurrence, do we possess in this remote event of which we have so clear a trace!—a change from the cooling of a region upon the surface of the globe in the course of the original refrigeration, and within human times,—not in human history, of course, but in human myth, reflecting earlier tales that grew from fact.

And why should this be so stoutly doubted,* as, doubt it, of course, we must? That its essential idea was mere guess-work of the story-tellers lighting upon frost as a chance theme, does not seem to be so likely. The simple seers of the villages would not so naturally have hit upon such a fancy as 'cold' for the conceived-of motive, or moment, in 'driving a whole people out.' Some actual past event of the kind of an enduring magnitude, in immemorial times, had evidently sunk deep in the hereditary traditions and memories of the infantile but sturdy generations.

And why, indeed, should a climatic crisis be regarded as so incredible; for, as a civic mass, they would have left no home for merely a few, if even somewhat persistent, bad seasons. Generation after generation in prehistoric years must have felt the gradual closing in of a polar world, and the forebears of these myth-weavers of Avesta may have been among their number. Crop after crop must have become impossible,—as we see them indeed now failing in our Middle Europe. The herbs, the fruits, the cereals, shrank and grew tasteless under the freezing grip†; and the 'tiller,' *Aryan*, was obliged to turn southward seeking the summer zephyrs, coming down and ever farther down, from his more northern home. That region, which from its moderation was once the only

* Not that any one has suggested such doubts;—the idea is now, I believe, first mooted.

† See Dr. Warren's most interesting work upon *Paradise Found* (at the Pole).

habitable territory for a man, actually once around the poles, became no longer possible, and the moving tribes marched ever southward as the seasons fell, led on, and it may be 'lured' on, by 'vegetation.' At last they reached the land soon called as they were, Iran,* in memory, perhaps, of their more ancient birth-place—a name which they have retained, and which has survived among us until now (see above);—its vales and plains stretched far and wide before their view amidst the peaks, south-east of the Caspian, south-west of it, and south of it. A part of them found support enough, as we observe, in the nearly middle Aryan territories; and a part broke off in huge banks, or strolled away in dribblets still farther south, down through the Afghan passes ever south and south-east, till they reached the Five Waters, the Punjāb, and became the Sindhus† or Hindus, the river-men, and with a singular destiny before them. But the old name still held;—the Aryans were *aryans* yet.

*Some South-going Aryans lingered in the Far North,
almost as if they were Iranians.*

For a long time the territories of the two kinsfolk touched, or almost touched.

The Gandharvas of the Veda, who recall the Avesta name *Gandar(e)va*, were with *Apsaras*, as far north as the vales of Kubha, or Kabul. Not far distant was the *Krumu* which was the *Kurum*, and the *Gomati* which was *Gumti* (*Gomal*), and the *Çutudri* which was the *Sutlej*, and even the half-mystic *Rasā* which was the *Ranghā*. As the common native home is named in the

* Eran (Spiegel).

† The Greek form of their present name, the *Indians*, rather than the *Sindians* (*sic*) came through the Avesta, or at least the *Persian*: *Hindu* is *Iranian* as against the Indian *Sindhu* (the same word with phonetic change; but how about the Prakrit, etc.?; there I am not at home). This is hardly my own original view; yet see the *Century Dictionary of Names*, as if there were some hesitation here.

Avesta, so their primæval history is disclosed, not told, in both the ancient documents. It is a history repeating its predecessors, as history seems ever destined so to do, working forward with pathetic effort in its spiral, returning but not always, to the selfsame centre in a devious circuit on a beaten track. When they had reached the rocks of Iran where we left them still undivided, the same deserts again stretched before them, ever south, arid and hopeless as they are to-day;—but not arid, as we may believe, from the salts of evaporated seas alone;—parts of them were waste as well, no doubt, from other causes, and from the reverse of that which first impelled the Aryans to break up their early borders;—the summer's drought became, at one point, desolating, for it was not sufficiently relieved;—their chief struggle was for water.

The Azhi.

Why did the rivers fall, and the rain hold off?—Some power was at work against them in the distant upland from which the rivers rolled, or in the distant heavens from which the rain-streams poured. They thought this influence was personal and præternatural,—what else could they think?;—some accursed being in the sky was busy and active, toiling to accomplish their defeat. Sometimes they thought the clouds themselves were outside walls,* sometimes the limbs of some huge animal they feared, shut in the clouds as nutriment;—the dread dragon-monster of their early tales and terrors gave the first outline to the eye of their imagination, as the *boa constrictor* of the South helped on the image there.

Some snake-devil up above, both near and far, was winding his fell coils about the cloud-cows dripping to be milked. In the Veda he was called the *Vṛitra*, the 'imprisoner,' and so *Verethra* in Avesta. His other name was *Ahi* in the one lore book, and still more

* See Bergaigne (?).

originally *Azhi* in the other. He is *six-eyed* and *triple-headed* in the one, *six-eyed* and *triple-headed* in the other. He might have the title *Dāsa*, 'fiend,' in Veda, and he is positively *Dahā(ka)* (the same) in Avesta.

His bellowing strikes terror in the one, we only hear his fell petitions in the other. His object in the one is destruction simply, and in the other he would 'empty the seven Karshvars of the earth of men.' *Apaosha*,* withering drought fiend, becomes his servant. The cloud-war becomes a god-war.

The same thing is taking place to-day. Drought is the murderer in large tracts of India, and in Iran it has, with other influences, in places literally swept the signs of human life away. So of old;—blighted harvests brought on famine;—dried-up rivers exhaled their poison, the virus of the reptile;—the cattle drooped, the flocks grew small;—the hardy camel pined;—and Indian and Iranian called on the same gods, and in hymns which have long been silent, for their help. As we are led to believe, they used the very metres in those vanished chants which are still sacred now;† and the same great deities took up the contest. The Creator of all was *Ahura* in the Avesta, and *Asura* (the same) in Veda.‡ There was *Mithra* among the one set of tribes, and *Mitra* among the others.—The old god *Athar*, whose form half perished from the *Rik* (though reappearing later) was strong and resistless in the sister creed, while *Agni* took his place in Indian chants.§—But the very name of the chief combatant of *Azhi* is *Verethraghna*, the fiend-smiter in the Avesta, and *Vritrahan* (the

* Cp. *Çushna*.

† We judge so from the metres of the *Gāthas* and of the *Rik*, and from those in other and later songs which have been left to us.

‡ Or 'an' *Asura*; *Varuṇa* is also at times both literally and constructively *Asura*. The *Rishis* themselves hardly know when to speak of an *Asura* as a separate person, or as designating the god-class. Here also it was and is impossible to be certain.

§ He has been in his turn half-forgotten in *Avesta*, though the word occurs.

same) in Veda.—There was *Gau*, the kine, the prize of warfare in both;—there was *Vayu* and *Vāyu*;—there was *Soma* who set on valour on the one side, and *H(a)oma* (the same) on the other,—till we come upon the glorious abstracts which were later the Archangels of Avesta (the *Amesha-spentas*). We have *Ṛita* (the law) on the one side, and *Asha* (was it *arsha*?), the same (see also *ereta*), the law on the other;—there was *Manyu* (earlier ‘spirit’) on the one side, who was *Mainyu* (spirit) on the other; *—there was *Vasumanah*, ‘who had the good mind’ † (in the *Ṛik*), and *Vohumanah*, ‘good mind,’ in Avesta;—there was *Kshatra*, the kingly power, who was *Khshathra*, kingly power;—there was *Aramati*, the ‘energetic zeal,’ who was *Ār(a)maiti*, the ‘devoted mind’;—there was *Sarvatātī*, healthful weal, who was *Haurvatāt(ī)* (the same);—and there was *Amṛitatva*, who was immortality, and *ameretatāt*, the deathless long life, here and hereafter. By the side of these there was *Çraushti*, ‘willing hearing,’ and *Sraosha*, ‘heedful listening.’

The Demons.

And the same demons too often fought against the saints on either side (indifferently). There was *Manyu*, later ‘demon fury,’ on the one side, and *Angra Mainyu* on the other;—there was the *Drukh*, a harmful-lie-god, and the *Druj*, she-devil, on the other;—there was *Drogha* and *Draogha*;—there were the *Yatus*, who were *Yatus*;—there was *Rakshas*, demons on the one side, and *raksha-doers* ‡ on the other;—there was the *Dānu* and the *Dānu*. The same human, or half-human, helpers took up the cause. *Yima* in his heroic character is *Yama*, later. §—*Trita*, the mysterious ‘third one’ in the

* Not, however, an *Amesha*, more another name for *Ahura*, or for his chief servant above the *Ameshas*.

† As the name of a *Ṛishi*.

‡ *Rakhshaiti*, my suggestion in *S.B.E.*, XXXI.

§ See above (was not the Avesta vowel ‘i’ a later false transmission?).

Veda, is *Thrita* in Avesta.—In the Veda he is primæval before all as the first preparer of the Soma, in Avesta he is only the third, if still pre-eminent arranger; *Traitana* is *Thraetaona*; *Kavya Uçanā* was *Kavi Usan*. The features of the encounters are alike;—the god-war became a 'faith-war.' *Traitana* battles with the *Dasa* as others with the *Ahi*;—his tribe name was *Aptya*, and so in the Avesta it was *Thraetaona Athwya* * 'who smote the same dragon, three-jawed and with thousand jointings',† and of mighty strength, which *Angra Mainyu*, the torture-god-wrath, made against the corporeal world.' In India both old forms faded, and the Hercules of the Veda appeared;—*Indra* took up his bolts;—so in Avesta we have *Indra*, misspelt *Andra*, but in this case turned to demon like the *Devās* and some others.‡

In Veda he drinks the soma to stir his courage; it is of *Trita's* brew;—sometimes he takes that old kindred name. He smites the *Ahi* as *Thraetaona* did his monster.—His mace has a thousand points, *Kavya Uçanā* forged it, and is there at hand with it—and so in Avesta *Kavi Usan* is on the side of *Thrita*.§

Men side by side with Gods almost as Peers.

Man not only took part, but helped on the gods with equal energy. *Keresaspa* (in Avesta) is almost an *Indra*, and so men help on, half-god(-d)ed throughout, in Veda. *Sacrifice* itself, as if half-deified, did much in

* I would now suggest *Awthya* as of course, and a corresponding change in the analogous Vedic form, as in the texts.

† So I suggest an alternative. Avesta's *Thrita* is rationally 'third.'

‡ See below, upon the further divergencies. We must not forget the *Rishis*, who assumed these god-names wholesale.

§ The influence of Avesta upon Veda is a great deal more probable than that of Veda upon Avesta for the simple reason that the Vedic people came down into India from the north-west, as no one doubts;—there the Vedic Indians were once pre-Avestic Iranians beyond all question; yet far as India was and meagre as were the intercommunications, a stray idea may well have reached Iran from early Vedic Afghanistan.

the matter too. So also in Avesta: '*O Ardvi Sura Anahita*,* with what offering shall I serve thee, that thou mayst run down, that the Serpent slay thee not, damming up thy streams?'—The Yasna answers, 'with offering and libations';—these are the powers and the weapons which arm both defence and attack throughout.

The almighty force was fire, and in both communities it never faltered,† as the battle raged. The grass was spread,—the seat was made (*barhis* in the Veda, *bares*(*man*)‡ in Avesta),—the hymn was raised,—the ear was gained,—the sticks twirled furiously and the sparks appeared,—the fire came,—the god lit on his throne;—his word went forth,—the cloud-flame fell, the lightning struck,—and the monster quailed;—his folds were burst, and the showers loosed, with all the blessings which they brought or symbolised.

The Same Heroic Deeds.

Different heroes, both Indian and Iranian, bring on the same salvation by the same deeds,—and sometimes they even take the selfsame names.

The half-god *Keresaspa*, as above, does the same work as *Trita*, and for the matter of that, as implied, he does Indra's too. This was to be expected in the successive developments of myth, and it has analogies in every ancient record of the kind;—gods and devils, demons and angels, borrow everywhere each other's deeds, as do heroes and their opposites;—and this as if by merest chance (in all such lores).

The Reason Why.

Yet there remains always the reason why successive champions should meet successively the selfsame foe;—the *Demon's work was nature's course*, and so ever fresh as it

* 'Heroic one of spotless (waters).'

† Though its name shifted back and forth; see above.

‡ But if this form be original the etymology must be irregular. In all such cases the word should be rationally restored;—no ancient document has been handed down intact. *-man* is mere suffix.

recurred;—decade after decade,—if not year after year,—the same serpentine power wrapt his encircling length about the rain-clouds, and brought the famine on.—How could it be possible that similar deeds done by successive heroes could remain unsung?;—the identity of the results would stereotype ideas.

The Gods of Peace.

And when the war ceased for an interval, the same *gods of peace* ruled in the happier time. There was *Airyaman* of Avesta, 'friend true to *Airya*,' who was *Aryaman* of Veda, and *Nairyosangha*, 'blest of man,' who was *Narāṇsa*;—there was *Bagha*, god of good luck, who was *Bhaga* in the sister book;—there was *Parendhi*, god of riches, who was *Puramdhi* in the Rik (though not personified), until we come upon a summing-up of favourites (favoured for good reasons, if only for the moment);—and they are curiously enough counted up to the same figures (thirty-three) in both Veda and Avesta, in each division of the tribes.*

And the same Human Princes of the Peace are in part common to both sides.

Vivasvant is *Yama's* father, and *Vivaṅhvant* (the same) is *Yima's*.† *Yama* is a king of the blest, and so is *Yima Khsh(a)eta* (in Avesta). Some of those who were erstwhile warriors were later renowned in calmer days. So our *Thrita*, no longer spreading slaughter (see above), is now occupied in precisely the opposed direction;—he is the first physician;‡—and so in the Atharvaveda (he wipes off sin or disease);—he even gives elsewhere to the gods the boon of slumber;—in yet another place

* In both Veda and Atharvaveda we have it on Sanskrit side; and so, sure enough, in Yasna (I, 33); not perhaps that the same gods were actually meant at all times when the figures were used, but the number was once emphatically solemn, and the old impression lingered with the relic of a forgotten reckoning. Burnouf first noticed this, not Haug, who repeats it.

† See my notes above.

‡ Vend., XX. See also XXII for other healing.

he gives long life to men;—in yet another any evil thing is to be brought to him to be appeased.* In another he appears as poet. *Kavi Usan* backed up the *Thrīta* in his duel, as we saw,—but he is also engaged in kindlier work, and reinstitutes great *Agni* as high-priest, leading the heavenly cows themselves to pasture.† It is another person, if *Vafra Navaza* be a person, who in Avesta takes up the task of *Kavi Usan* (in the later books) and anticipates air-navigation,‡ for he tries to fly to heaven, though where does *Kavya Uçanā* do the like?—there are plenty of mountings to heaven.

Such are some few of the parallels. Well indeed are these Iranian texts called three parts Veda, so far at least as the tales they tell may tally. The word itself too, *Veda*, is near *Avesta*, which, however, may be *āVista* § with a prefixed *ā*, *-ā-Veda* and *ā-v(a)edha* || touch everywhere. While of the metres which I mentioned, ¶ one of the oldest and not least beautiful, Vedic Trishtup, survives in some of the choicest of Avesta hymns. And these analogies tell irresistibly toward the argument for the earlier age of even the later Avesta, where, for the Iranian side, the analogies for the most part fall.

* See R V., VIII, 47, 13.

† R V., VIII, 23, 17.

‡ I can, however, find no exact parallel in the Veda. In a later book (*Bhagavita-gita*, X, 37), he is the first of poets. He has four sons in the *Mahabharata* (?), etc., etc.

§ The same as *A-vitta*, *t* before *t* goes over to *s* (*st*).

|| *V(a)edha* occurs in the Avesta, but more in the kindred sense of 'possession.' According to all analogies an Iranian *V(a)edha* might, however, precisely equal *Veda*.

¶ See above. The 'fringes,' so to speak, of these analogies must vary, considering the immense distances involved and periods of time, with sparse intercommunications. In the case of *Asura* we must also remember that the shiftings of the applications of the word must be more than usually kaleidoscopic, because the word of itself had originally so clear a meaning as 'God,' aside from all application to a person;—yet I hold that its earlier occasional use as of a supreme person affected to some extent its application ever after. Its inverted use for 'devil' or 'devils' seems almost exclusively personal;—it is applied to it, or to them as to a personal Satan, or to a gang of Satons, so named.

THE ESTRANGEMENT AND THE BREAK.*

But amidst this mass of evidence, full as it so evidently is, and decisive for the unity, we come upon a phenomenon which at the first sight of it undoes it all.

[(Internal differences, as we are all too well aware, have everywhere lowered religious names, and holy offices once held most sacred fall to less repute;—‘unpreaching prelates,’ let us recall, for instance, were once not approved by Puritans, and the chief titular Christian Bishop is openly called ‘Antichrist’ by a large fraction of those who profess to worship the same great Lord;—many also who exalt the ‘saints’ with conscientious devotion are termed ‘idolaters’ by their co-religionists, while these in their turn hurl back the retort of ‘heretic,’ each party to the conflict being doubtless both serious and fervent, while each also consigns the other without hesitation to the flames of an eternal future.

It was still more natural in the first struggles of the Faith with the classic heathenism for the early Christians to find ‘Jupiter’ a possessing devil, or to withdraw ‘Apollo’ through the nostril of the neophyte.

No facts, indeed, would seem to be more cruel than such as show the dearest gods of one race made the very demons of the next)].

The Great Dethronement.

Yet where—to resume—in the wide history of religions or religious peoples, will you find the gods whom the very men involved themselves once worshipped,—nay, the supreme chief one of them all, long regarded as Creator,—at last dethroned,—a god still adored by their own close kindred †—those of His present defamers;—nay, not alone

* See *East and West* of Bombay for March 1902, and *The Open Court* of December 1910.

† The kindred of the men who now condemn them.

dethroned,—*transformed* like any foreign god to *fiend*, and this not only in spite of their kinsmen's unchanging belief, but in fact possibly, if not probably, *because* of it. Yet this is what stares at us from every folio of Avesta, as from many a section of the Veda. Not only have some of the subordinite divinities turned upon their *alter-ego's*, but the very name of Heaven itself is violated;—and this, as I regret to say, upon the side of Iran. No name more fitted to beneficial spiritual powers could ever, as one would think, have fastened itself upon the receptive sensibilities of happy worshippers, than that name of the 'shining sky'; and *Deva* (*to dyu, dyut*) is, indeed, still used by several branches of the great Indo-germanic family as *deus, deity*, and the like, a household word in Western and South Europe (more book-word with the Teutons).

And so in classic times as well, *Zeus pater* was *Ju-piter*, as *divas pitar* was Heaven's father, and yet it was this 'Heaven' itself, *Zeus-divas*, which Iran used for the gods of Hell!—a great pity, as we may well concede;—it might indeed even shock us,—but so it remains the fact. From the very Gāthas on, throughout the old, the intermediate, and the new Avesta, throughout the period of *Pahlavi*, through that of the exquisite Persian literature (early, middle, and late), down to this very day, hardly the smallest trace of a deviation has been discovered or reported. *D(a)eva* and *Dev* have never been made use of prominently, if at all,—so far as I have observed, or can remember—in all our surviving Iranian to designate those Holy Beings whom the ancestors of both Indian and Iranian once worshipped with the word (so signal in this use)!

Its Cause.

And how did this sad change occur, as we must in due course inquire?—It might assist our answer if we first look for a moment at a still greater profanity, if not, indeed, still greater blasphemy,—as we might so term it,—and this time still quite as unhappily, if, as was the fact, upon the other

side. *Asura* became displaced. The Indian Aryans, and some of them at an excessively early period, themselves dragged down this once honoured name for the Supreme Spirit whom their own still earlier seers adored. '*Asura*' itself was changed by the ancestors of Indians, as by Indians themselves, and not only changed but inverted in its turn,—as in the other case of *Deva*. There a sacred generic name was degraded;—but this was worse than degrading a mere generic name. '*Devá*,' however glorious, seldom meant an individual deity till later days,* while *Asura* was seemingly at times beyond all doubt a distinct person, or at least rhetorically so used, and as such his name was taken most horribly in vain,—at all events as the great *god-class*. He was once the believer's father,† not only '*Heaven's Deva*'‡ as in the older Veda, but father of the heroes that bear the earth,§ and even of the infinite '*eternals*';—not man alone, but '*gods*' bore hymns to him,||—'*the offerers of the great race of Angirases are his servants, sons of Heaven*,'¶ so three of the First *Adityas* are his champions.** Even Agni, dearest of the gods, is born of him.††

'Seven-priested from of old, forth, forth he beameth
As in the mother's womb apart he shines,—
Eye hath he never closed, the watchful, joyful,
Since from Asura's loins he issued child.'

One would think that Asura's place as a god—so far as he was so signally a person—was safe, if ever a deity's possessions were;—but he begins to lose it, and before a redoubted rival, who is found indeed uniting with Heaven itself and the wide Earth against him, Asura,—for all bow

* Cicero's *deus* was often merely 'the divine,' as was also *theos*.

† Not understanding '*Várūṇa*' just here. R V., X, 124, 3.

‡ R V., V, 41, 3. *Asura* of heaven.

§ R V., X, 10, 2.

|| R V., V, 41, 3.

¶ R V., X, 67, 2, etc.

** R V., III, 56, 8.

†† R V., III, 29, 14.

down before the rising Indra (R̥ V., I, 131, 1). The full celestial civil conflict at length breaks out :—

‘O Lord of prayer, Brihaspati, O Indra,
With thy hot bolt split through Asura’s men
As thou of old didst smite with daring fury—
So smite to-day, O Indra, that fell fiend!’

And this of Asura, erstwhile the father of both gods and men!

‘O Indra, Vishnu, all Çambara’s strongholds
Ninety-and-nine, ye smote, though fastened tight
A *varchin*’s hundred, yea a thousand foemen
Ye slew them all, Asura’s thousand might.’

At last he is totally ‘ungod-ed’ (called ‘no-god,’ *adeva*) with his once peerless hosts :—

‘Bladeless the non-gods Asuras oppose thee,—
With hurling spear,* O headlong, drive them hence!’

And this goes back how early? The *Rishis* foil their tricks,—Atri defeats them. Several of the gods claim to overshadow them. No fall could be more signal. Even the *Dāsa*, the ‘fiend’ (see above), is coupled with the name (R̥ V., X, 138, 3).

It is a very remarkable phenomenon, look at it in whatever light we may. (It is not at all possible that the word ‘*Asura*’ was used of evil beings arbitrarily and with no gradual departure from the earlier sacred use;—recall the same change with *manyu*, etc.) And this occurred in hymns sung by *Rishis* of the same people, in the same metres, and in the selfsame line of priests (apparently). Here then is a god-name, spiritually supreme in one century, or perhaps even in one decade, and yet not only degraded but reviled in another closely succeeding period,—and in the same country, among the same people.

And so again we have the question, as of the *D(a)eva*

* R̥ V., VIII, 85 (96), 9; literally ‘with thy wheel.’

name, though *Asura* is somewhat less familiar. Let us now ask more closely,—how did this happen? The great name *Ahura*, i.e. *Asura*, held itself unrivalled in the other land from one end of the Iranian territory and history to the other;—it never lost its supremacy. Why did it not likewise continue to be supreme in India as well? And why did the like—only approximately—parallel reverse take place with the name of *D(a)eva* * as we have seen—*adored* in one accidentally far-separated lore—territorially separated—and *execrated* with dynamitic fury in the other. Was *theology* alone the evil cause in both cases of this lost sovereignty?

That the once twin peoples later quarrelled theologically on the matters of ritual and creed none can doubt;—and that their religious disagreements had something, as of course, to do with their mere geographical division seems certain. In the case of *Asura* this took place not with the division between Indian and Iranian alone, but with the jarrings between school and school among the Indians;—there were such bickerings beyond a doubt, and as usual, and this even between *shrine* and *shrine*. To explain this deplorable, but too frequently recurring, mishap, we must, as so often, now go back to the pettiest of all small causes. Some poet in a favoured centre had made too brilliant illustrations—this was the difficulty;—or some woes predicted by one priesthood there had turned out too strikingly, though perhaps accidentally, correct;—or again, more simply and as a familiar case, one community had become too prosperous, so that their especial patron deity must be a little taken down. Such was beyond all doubt the far-back secret of the thing.

So, low and deep, the mutterings began against the prestige of the now, alas! too loudly praised *Asura*: ‘Those vaunted deeds of that especial deity, or class, *give flocks and herds* across yon river, or yon border’: ‘This is the very cause, perhaps, why flocks and herds *are dwindling here*’;—‘*Asura*, once supreme for all of us, is turning out

* I.e., *Devá*.

to be a party-god to the great profit of *those* rivals.' And as the negro first neglects and later pounds his fetish, so the Indians began to drop Asura hymns, then to murmur in undertone some fragments in a hostile strain,—till at last after some savage struggle they cast off all reserve, and openly reviled the god who could so help-on the hated neighbour, and soon forgot the days when they too raised his name (in song as sweet as any).

This was the true, main motive of the change, we may depend upon it, as between Indian and Indian; and—take my word for it—it is the secret of half the changes in opinions since. Could things like this have failed to help-on, if not actually to cause as well, the differences also between the men of Veda and men of Avesta (and this while they, the future Indians and the original Iranians, still touched each other in their homes), as such like things most certainly brought on the same sort of differences between Indians and Indians in their southern settlements, also *still later on*? The contrary seems hardly possible; things like these must have been the causes here at work. That these grave, and ultimately fatal, differences with all their mournful but inevitable consequences had their actual origin from anything like simple and clearly differing radical *intellectual* convictions stirring the very soul and conscience, is unlikely to the last degree. Even the precipitation in some of our own great modern reformation had its impetus from the smallest of all trivial hopes or fears. No,—it is extremely foolish to suppose that a purely rational theological antagonism in opinion was really. at that early period, the moving cause of the harsh events which followed upon these subdivisions in either case. Theological rancour—indeed, to some degree of old, as I have conceded—deepened, and become embittered by every selfish instinct fermenting in the minds of the great leaders,—and this to some degree, and as a thing of course, kept them, as they felt it, active ~~both~~ in the stream and at the helm, and more sincere fanatical con-

victions must have helped on the conflict everywhere and throughout,—but the mainspring of the conflict lay, as ever, in *brute jealousies*.

As the Indo-iranian tribes extended, the advanced settlements stood somewhat too far off from the chief centres, and the bands of inter-racial connection became at times attenuated. Differing interests—if only in the great markets in the wider meaning of the term—could not fail to stir up discord;—unequal fortunes nourished hatred,—greed grew furious as wealth grew insolent,—border friction became more constant as the country's sections grew personally more and more estranged,—bloody brawls led on to still more bloody raids, and these to remorseless inextinguishable feud,—until the long fratricidal wars began, and the battle-shouts were deities. As Moslim cried 'Allah, Allah!' with terrible effect, so each side in murderous affrays called on its favoured name. 'Deva, Deva!' was shouted along the one line, and 'Ahura, Ahura!' rose fiercely from the other. And in the roar of the chorus the keener wit and the nimbler tongues* of the future Rishis too often wove the better words, and silence sank upon the ranks of Iran. And when victory came, with its known atrocities, we can well perceive how 'Deva, Deva!' became more feared, and if possible more hated (though it was once to both a name endeared), while Ahura as Asura was correspondingly despised by the southern throngs.

The one side in desperate fury cried—

'Your kindred, O ye D(a)evas, are a seed from the mind
polluted :

Who praise unto you most offers, with the deed of the lie
deceiveth ;

Advanced your stratagems are, renowned in the sevenfold
earth.' †

* The short shouts went back on battle hymns :—recall the soul-stirring hymns of modern civil war.

† Yasna, XXXII, 3. Something such-like, or parts of it in short cries.

while the other side thundered back with hymns such as I have quoted.*

I am convinced that this was the explanation of the strange changes as regards the gods of each.

The Results, or some of them.

Victory was not always on the Deva's side, and with victory captives were divided;—many a North-Western was carried off towards India beyond a doubt, and some from amongst future Indians were dragged back to Iran. There, after the sullen peace, in the New Avesta, these D(a)eva-worshippers became a servile caste amid the subjects of Ahura, though in the Gāthas we find them still unbeaten and in arms. There, in the New Avesta, they are at home, domesticated, and to a degree assimilated, but with such scanty civil rights that their very lives were lightly risked. A grim smile forces itself upon us as our eye runs down the pages;—the form of cruelty is as quaint as it is merciless;—the tyro-surgeon might try his virgin knife on them, these D(a)eva worshippers, but on no account could he begin his practice on a believer in full credit. If he 'cuts' three times, and all three times his patient dies, his knife must rest for ever;—only if he cuts three times, and all three times his D(a)eva-worshipper survives,—then only may he proceed and 'cut' the orthodox.†

These Differences and Inversions only the more acutely point the Facts of Unity first noticed.

Such murderous estrangements—as is often elsewhere seen—only heighten still more the singular effect of the phenomenon of the past agreements on which we lay such stress, and they set the last seal to our convictions. The ancient, but alas! now too often spiteful, sisters, were once almost as one, quite members of a family. If the chief

* The hymns behind the battle-shouts.

† Vend., VIII, 36 (94) ff.

gods (see above) lost their hold among the Indian-aryans, how much more was it to be expected that brother deities of lesser magnitude in the two great race divisions should lose their caste, and that among them even some leading—if still somewhat *sub*-chieftain—gods should suffer similarly after they have become the pet saviours of one or of the other of the angry sides? * *Mainyu*, 'spirit,' is indifferent—as a word—in Avesta, needing an adjective to define it more closely as the 'evil,' while it sometimes occurs alone, and often to designate a 'good' deity. And so, at first, as said, in Veda; it was 'good' enough—though standing quite alone—as 'zeal' or 'forceful passion' not yet personified, but, like the other names, as seen above, it became at last, not mere 'spirit' as in the other lore, but 'spirit anger'; and so at times personified, while in Avesta it is never the Supreme Devil without its adjunct *angra*; see above.

Then there were the *Nāsatyas*, who were, under a still higher name, the *Asvins* of the Veda; but *Naiṅhaithya* (the same) is a demon in Avesta. Whether the *Angirases* of Veda are the *Angra* of Avesta is much more doubtful. †

Then the *Gandharvas*, gods of sheen-mist, are so high in the Veda that they even put the stimulating power into *soma* (sacred drink) ‡ beside very many other mighty functions,—but in Avesta *Gandarva*, once named aside from this, attacks the *h(a)oma* (which is *soma*), as a *D(a)eva*-demon attacks a sacred object in an opposing book.

Kalpa is the holy rite, among many other momentous items in Veda, but the *Karpans* are a hated band in the Avesta. Even great Indra, as said, was a devil in the

* If '*D(a)evas*' carried havoc among the Iranians in conflict with Indians, no better reason could be furnished for their neglect and final detestation, and so of *Asura* among the future Indians, not only in civil war between the neighbouring Indian tribes, but in some frontier battles with Iranians. Of course, as I have said, the matter by no means stopped at this.

† For the *Angirases*, some think, are mentioned in a good sense in early Persian; but see below as to changes in the same old usage.

‡ Apparently the first there discovered intoxicating liquid, and from that quality deemed to be supernatural.

Iranian lore, and little wonder, though he fights the Dragon just as the Avesta champions did.

Ithyejah is a demon in Avesta, but *tyajah* (-s) (the same) is often not an evil in the Veda. *Būiti* is a demon in the one lore, but *bhūti* means 'plenty' in the other; so *Bujin* is a demon in the one, and *bhujī* means 'enjoyment' in the other. Other sub-gods and sub-devils fall, or rise, on one side or the other,—but the list would tire us. Among the heroes, too, are many changes. *Kṛiṣṇu* shoots to save the *soma*, bringing down its keen foe, the hawk; but in Avesta *Keresani* is an enemy of *H(a)oma*, which is *Soma*. *Gotma*, and his progeny, are singers and heroes in the Veda, but *G(a)otema* is cursed in the Fravardin Yasht, etc.

One item aside from personalities should be noticed. Curiously enough *Dahyu*, the marked name for the provinces in the Avesta, is *Dasyu*, which is used for hostile tribes in the Rik, and here, indeed, we are so startled by the coincidence that we are almost forced to see in the one a pointed reference to the other. These Dasyus mentioned in the Veda were tribes that did not worship Devas, and they are supposed to have been the savage aborigines whom the Aryan Indians forced farther back, as the advancing white man drove the red man elsewhere.

But were those who formed this opinion aware of the familiar Iranian name? Those Dasyus were not only unbelievers, and non-sacrificers, but 'people *with other rites*.' What rites had savages which could raise them to the rank of rival worshippers? *

To finish with analogies. As Asura turned demon among the Indians (or future Indians), and Manyu with him;—as D(a)evas were once gods in Iran, in times before the Gāthas, so in the same lore we have from the same

* Some doubt that the etymology here is identical with that of *Dasyu*. If the Indian's *dasyu* had an evil origin in India itself, this may have been overlooked by the Iranians. If Indian enemies called Iranian regions *Dasyu* like their own evil *dasyu*, this may have been sufficient cause for Iran to accept the name in a better sense.

cause a good and evil *Vayu*, and among heroes with their families a good and evil *Kavi*, and the like.

These crossings and recrossing of gods and sub-gods, heroes and head-knaves, from one side to the other in the celestial or infernal minuet, do not affect the argument. Let me again assert it;—Veda and Avesta *are really one*; and I add the chief item here.

Not only are the mythologies, the echoes of past history, and the proper names of gods and heroes the same, with the names of countries, the languages being recognisably allied,—but the entire essence of the two dialects are closely identical with only such phonetic variations as might be expected;—even these largely vanish as we learn more and more how to decipher the Avesta alphabet. Their very irregularities correspond most strikingly, like their laws. This clinches all the other illustrations.

Said the greatly distinguished Professor Oldenberg,* then of Kiel: ‘The languages, Avestic and Vedic-Sanskrit, are nearer to each other than were the dialects of Greece near to each other, and even nearer to each other than the Veda is to its own Sanskrit “Epic.”’ †

This seems to us, at the first sight of it and hearing of it, to be hardly credible, but what is really more wonderful is that it is so little known. It is actually the fact that we have a mass of documents from the remote north-west which are verily twin-sister to the south and south-east Sanskrit,—and not to the later type of it, but to the earlier; to the Vedic rather than to the post-Vedic;—and this is true also even of the later parts of the late Avesta. There is one main feature of identity to which we should never allow ourselves to grow accustomed;—the *metres are the same*, and the most beautiful of all, as said above, predominated in the hymns of the original united home.

* One of the translators of *S.B.E.*

† See my communication to the *Times of India* under date of July 28, 1909. This gentleman, Professor Oldenberg, was quoting a chapter of my own in Roth’s *Festgruss*, in which I had endeavoured to

Which holds the Claim to be the more Original?

As to which side of the two bears the fullest traces of their common origin is not so easy to decide. Now the older forms fore-gather in the Avesta, now in the Indian,—but that all are remotely ancient as terms in Indo-germanic speech no expert anywhere has doubted.

I refrain from further items;—it seems clear, indeed, without more said, that Avesta is nearly Veda in history, features, language, and metres.

The Impossibility of Later Fabrication.

If so,—to return to our first question,*—how can its greatest and oldest part be the cunning product of the Augustan age?—and on Persian soil where the Avesta language had been dead for centuries? A dead speech can live in literature, and Kalidasa could speak no Sanskrit,† writing in a left-off lingo, but it would be hazardous to postulate too suddenly the same conditions of things for ancient Iran as for less ancient India. The scenes presented in the old Avesta, the Gāthic, teem with intellectual life indeed, rough and severe, and they do not show a hyper-cultivated finesse. The Gāthas almost surpass the credible in sublimity of tone, their age and place considered,—but in view of the later over-elaborated ideas of India they betray a too unsuspicious view of life, and we doubt whether the men that wrote them knew the world too well. Not even in the latest Avesta, or post-Avesta, fragments down to the time when Avesta could have been no longer spoken,‡ do we see the smallest trace of any such malign capacity as could forge the old

turn the forms of Zend into those of Sanskrit; see his *Religion des Weda*, p. 27. No Scotsman, justly proud of his rich native speech, will take offence when I use it as an apt illustration,—Avesta is nearer Veda than Scotch, with all *its* genius, is near to English.

* Let the reader not forget that these Lectures were separately delivered.

† So some think.

‡ As a vernacular.

hymns, working up a mass of broken allusions which depict in passing scenes too often far from pleasing, scowling with party passions, and all directed to one single aim.*

If Genuine, a Later Date for Them is Unthinkable.

The fabrication of such productions as the Gāthas would betray its origin in every line, while as to the seemingly still open possibility that they were late and yet *genuine*, it hardly deserves to be discussed. If there was a *Vishtāspa* at the time of Christ, a *Frash(a)oshtra* and a *Zarathushtra*, they could not possibly have then written pure old Aryan with the very names still perfect, and with the whole cast and colouring such as it lies before us.

Either—entirely unlike the rest of the Avesta—they describe in their vehemence scenes which were actually transpiring, and sentiments that were personally felt, or else somebody made them up to imitate the half-baffled fury of a group of leaders struggling in a religious-political crisis. This last would call for a letter-miracle;—as said above, and the age for that was past (or never had been).† Nobody living high up in the hills of sparse Iran could well have worked up a fiction such as that. It would have been a masterpiece immense. Such is the state of the case. There is, however, always the one main result indeed which nothing here affects.

We can offer to inquiring applicants in the Avesta some of the most delicate, as well as momentous, suggestions in ancient literature. With the exception of a frequent solecism, the passages are all, one after the other, but little disputed as to literal terms in their primal sense. It is here the 'last step' which costs as to the exact point, and not the first. Our doubts are great indeed as to the precise turn of the detailed ideas intended by the

* The victory of a bold political-religious party in the struggle for a throne; we must fully reconstruct from the plain, if isolated, texts.

† See above in the previous sections.

composer to be expressed ; and it is here that we specialists consume each other ;—but they are next to nil as to preliminary elucidations, and the cruces often fall in dependent parts of sentences, *which might actually often be left unrendered* with little loss to the main theme.

No one, as I suppose, has ever denied in any tongue this extraordinary elevation of sentiment in those most ancient pieces of the Avesta, silly as some of its later excrescences may be, nor does any one question the marvellous subtlety of those distinctions as ‘to thought and word and deed.’ The grouping of the Ameshaspentas alone is wonderful, for they mean God’s attributes now personified as the archangels, and again still denoting characteristics implanted in His people, with the result of healthful weal and deathless long-life* (also much personified), but resulting in an especially subjective future state. And all these elements, instinct as they are with religious vitality, have again strange,—and yet not so strange to say,—their traces in the Veda.

We may remember the man in the fiction† who objected to Semitism as ‘too much immortality,’ etc. Little did he know that it was far more Aryan than Semitic. While the Hebrew exile had a Saddusaic faith with few glimpses towards the ‘other side,’ he came back from his Persian East with a soul all moved with futurity. His God took closer notice,‡ and his Devil had more form. His Judgment was to be forensic, and he came prepared to write the Daniel piece, with many more. His spirit, the Iranian’s, was to be lashed indeed (if bad) hereafter, but it was by his own evil personal emotions, and his pangs were to be ‘bad thoughts and words and deeds’ ; while zephyrs of aromatic fragrance were to meet his soul if blest, as it left the lifeless clay for the Bridge of the Discriminator and

* See the first Lecture.

† Was this in Mr. Disraeli’s *Lothair*?—see my letter to the *Times of India* of September 24, 1909.

‡ Spiritual notice.

the Last Assize. In the approach to these a beautiful form was to appear which was declared to be 'his own religious nature,' or, as some would read, 'himself'; and she would answer to his bewildered question: 'I am thy conscience, thy good thoughts and words and deeds, thy very own.' Still dazed, though not alarmed, the soul would proceed under her benediction till it came before the 'Throne all golden,' where Vohumanah, like the Son of God, arises to hail and reassure it;—souls of the holy dead throng to meet it;—the Almighty intervenes to spare it painful reminiscences;—and it enters a heaven of 'good thoughts and words and deeds.' But this is Avesta, and by no means Veda.*

* See these points more copiously presented in the first Lecture. Such particulars require frequent re-introduction, as their importance is paramount in the history of the moral-religious development.

FIFTH LECTURE.

(*An Interlude.*)

‘GOD HAS NO OPPOSITE.’*

A Sermonette from the Persian.

WE have all of us noticed that ideas develop not so much in circles as in spirals. We find the old thoughts coming again, as history unfolds itself, but they always reappear increased. This is perhaps as apparent as anywhere in the familiar argument by which we try to harmonise for ourselves the blemishes which we observe everywhere in our personal destiny and in that of others—that is to say, in the argument by which we accept these miseries on the score of antithesis.

Hegel, and Fichte before him, used this procedure more fully than others among moderns ; but devout clergy, whose religion no longer includes a cold acquiescence in human sufferings, have often urged upon their hearers as a consolation the necessity of evil to the development of the good, of sorrow to the possibility of happiness.

Obvious as such thoughts may be, and vital as they certainly seem to all men in their attempts to smooth out the wrinkles on the face of things, we little expected to find them expressed to a nicety at such a time as the thirteenth century, and in such a place as Persia ;—and it is equally

* This little piece, now here re-edited or re-printed for the fifth time, was suggested to me some years ago by a fresh consideration of the doctrines of rational dualism as set forth in the Pahlavi literature. See the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July 1897, pp. 103-110. See also *The Open Court* of 1910 ; *East and West*, Bombay, January 1911 ; *The Parsi* of 1911.

startling to see their very detail worked out in a style which reminds us of the much-praised, if sometimes belittled, philosopher of Stuttgart.* The Masnavi is the Bible of the Persians, and *Jelalu'd-dīn Rūmi* is their apostle of the Prophet. No book of antiquity or modern days is, all things considered, more remarkable than his production. Wit, humour, poetry, and rhyme express its sometimes postprandial pantheism, and these are offset with conceptions which are often sublime and a piety which was doubtless sincere. When he comes to philosophical hair-splittings in the style of the mystics he is very acute, although, as he himself confesses, he often sews himself up. On this matter of antithesis he is especially rich, and he gives us in many a place 'Hegelianism before Hegel.' Here is a bit of his doctrine of limit :—

'Errors occur not without some truth. If there were no truth, how could error exist? Truth is the Night of Power, hidden among other nights in order to try the spirit of every night. Not every night is that Night of Power, nor yet is every one devoid of power. If there were no bad goods in the world, every fool might be a buyer, for the hard act of judging would be easy;—and if there were no faults one man could judge as well as another. If all were faulty, where would be the skill?—If all wood were common, where would be the aloes?—He who accepts everything is silly, and he who says that all is false is a knave. . . .'

'Discern form from substance, O son, as lion from desert. When thou seest the waves of speech, know that there is an ocean beneath them. Every moment the world and we are renewed. Life is like a stream, renewed and ever renewed' (compare Hegel's 'All is flow,' as borrowed from Heraclitus). 'It wears the appearance of continuity or form;—the seeming continuity arises from the very

* Hegel was born in Stuttgart, where a marble slab bearing his name is set in the facing of the house which claims to be his birth-place.

swiftness of the motion (p. 3); a spark whirled round has the appearance of a circle.'*

He expresses the principle of this on page 31, book i. Here he begins and slowly works his way up to a statement so great as nearly to silence us with respect for him. Commencing with the usual instance of light and colour, he goes on: 'And so with mental colours. At night there is no light, and so no colour,—but by this we know what light is,—by darkness. Opposite shows up opposite, as the white man the negro;—the opposite of light shows us what is light;—hence colours are known by their opposites. *God created pain and grief to show happiness through its opposite.*†—Hidden things are manifested thus.' And then come the (to a scholastic) magnificent words, '*God has no opposite; He remains hidden.*' God has no opposite; He is all-inclusive. We are all of us a little pantheistic nowadays,—although on Hegel's law we may still claim to be 'orthodox';—and who that thinks has not been, or will not be, mentally moved by the conception of that inclusiveness. 'He has no opposite.'

All that exists, exists through His will, and has ever so existed.‡ The discoveries of physical science, the still more far-reaching ones of the purely mental, only define His indefinableness, and make Him greater.

He has no opposite,—not in the realms of the moral idea,—not in the close distinctions of the exact or the quasi-exact sciences,—not in the physical astrologies of the skies,—not in the range of mathematics surpassing imagination,—nor in the scope of æsthetics, which are as minute as they are expanded. The telescope and the microscope are as powerless as is that world of sensibility which is called into life by music or colour.—Nowhere is He arrested or described. Sorrow cannot say to Him, 'Here is your

* Compare book ii. page 165. I have not followed Mr. Wynfield's most impressive and effective translation literally, but I have preferred it to others.

† The italics are mine.

‡ Save moral evil.

limit,' nor Pain declare, 'Me you never made.'* Even the old conceptions of future torment which exist clear and distinct as ideas at least, almost as dreadful as the supposed realities ;—nothing,—nothing is without Him, or so opposed as to define Him ;—He has no opposite. But He has detail, if we might so express ourselves. He has no opposite, but His actual deeds and attributes are made up of them. He can never be defined,—but we can approach a definition. All the thronging results of science may be said to be the discoveries of 'opposites.' Every opposite found out by brain, or eye, or glass, or measure,—every tool with its adapted edge, every structure in the subdivision of mechanics, is an added item in the rearing of that great edifice made up of differences out of which we approach Him. Without the recognition of difference no consciousness can exist, and the pang of misery is the actual condition to the thrill of rapture and the calm of peace.

Surely it is a consoling as well as an impressive thought to the thinker, that notwithstanding the conflicts in his mental processes he does not think in vain,—that to the universe of opposites on which he works there is a unity towards which he may indefinitely progress.† 'God has no opposite' ;—it gives consolation to the *dover*, for he knows that every result which he brings forth, sharply facing either menace or defect, brings him nearer to the Harmonised. Well may we accept the 'pulse of thought,' 'the grasp,' 'the split,' 'the combination.'‡ What consolation, above all, it gives the obstructed!—How oppositions tend to make us doubt!—How can there be a purpose in so much treason, such equivocation, and such oppression as we see?—How is it possible that there can be anything so mean? Surely here, if anywhere, is God's Opposite. Yet even here the old Persian's word holds good. God means

* Except the moral evil.

† Compare Kant's 'Ad Indefinitum.' (Or was this an unconscious joke?)

‡ Compare Hegel's 'Begriff, Urtheil, Schluss.'

the caitiff as the only being that can define the good,—though He may neither have created nor permitted * him ;—He uses his results, as He does all things,—the evil for a supreme purpose. That good is somewhere, and all of us will be sure some day to find it out. God has no opposite, and He perhaps never makes us more acutely sensitive to His goodness than when He permits us to recoil and with disgust from what seems the contradictory opposite of all that He can be.

* Here is the great crux, with its seemingly inscrutable contradictions, which I make no attempt to solve. See Lectures XII and XIII.

SIXTH LECTURE.

THE SUPPOSED AND THE REAL 'UNCERTAINTIES' OF THE
GĀTHAS;—THEY ARE CIRCUMSCRIBED BY INCONTRO-
VERTIBLE CLEARNESS.*

[(To state our case here more plainly at the outset :—there are two well-defined leading issues in Gāthic studies, as in some other leading branches of research, each of great, if differing, importance : one is the moral-theological, and the other is the merely literary-æsthetic. The first interest is obviously paramount, because it lies at the foundation of the history of ethics ;—if even all the doubtful terms in the Gāthas which express literary or æsthetic point were stricken out, this moral element would still remain untouched.—The other points possess that same artistic value which attaches to the complete æsthetic treatment of all important subjects, ancient or modern. To put these crucial factors into focus is here our purpose.)]

On the many branches of Oriental research all serious authorities are sure to differ,—as indeed upon all specialities of whatsoever scope,—but it is always a little difficult to understand just why Avesta studies should be so often especially branded as bristling with the 'inscrutable.' And there was indeed at one time a most extraordinary element of hindrance, which to one unaccustomed to the facts seems fatal to all serious investigation of the matter. I

* Thus, as ever, recalling, expanding, and repointing what has been necessarily already, but less prominently, mentioned, or implied above in the other Lectures once separately delivered.

state it fully as follows for an obvious reason. As is universally understood, all important texts should be approached only after and with the mastery of the obviously essential materials for exegesis;—but the Pahlavi Commentaries upon the Yasna which actually grew out of the Yasna itself, and therefore possess the most imperative of all claims to a hearing, have been handed down to us in an alphabet in comparison with which that of Assyriology is lucid. Owing to this initial disadvantage, some justly impatient adventurers two or three decades ago felt forced to advance with many an interesting and valuable suggestion, and interpreted the Avesta without its daughter. We might clearly and at once cross off these parties from our score,—did they really any longer exist,—but at this present time there is scarcely any longer a single writer of this description to be found. No serious person now disputes the fact that the Pahlavi, Persian, and Sanskrit Commentaries teem with valuable indications at every line, having given us all our first knowledge of Avesta grammar, anticipating our finest re-discoveries, while they unfortunately also launch out into the impossible as to both terms and syntax everywhere throughout. Such is the character of all such ancient ‘targums’ themselves written over or rewritten by every later generation. We have, however, at last in so far deciphered the Avesta-pahlavi alphabet as to find incisive elements of the Pahlavi alphabet in our later-formed beautiful Avesta alphabet itself;—and so we have finally at least become more seriously aware as to what both our cherished certainties and our dreaded ‘uncertainties’ in Pahlavi and Avesta really are. As to those of the Gāthas, these difficulties arise from one of the strangest particulars in literature, when we take into consideration the vast historical importance of the interests here involved. Everybody has heard of the Ameshaspends of Persia, with the resonant name of their enouncer, and many know that they were worshipped throughout that vast Empire, signalling the deepest personal religious principles for centuries. Having

even become familiar to the distant literary Greeks, also in their interior sense, so early as the fourth century B.C.,* they were rehabilitated, if with much loss of dignity, by the Gnostics, B.C. 60 to A.D. 100.† They must have had great influence with the noble Mithra cult, and they told indirectly but most positively upon posterity through the known channels, animating our own faiths even till to-day. But in the original Hymns the names which distinguish them,—these Amesha-Spentas,—are used in many differing applications (rhetorical and literal) as words; and here opens the entrance to our labyrinth.

The leading term, *Asha*—to wit—the most closely associated with the name *Mazdā(h)*, occurs first of all in its natural sense of '*correct truth*,' having originally grown out of the observation of the undeviating regularity of natural phenomena, chiefly in the movements of the heavenly bodies; e.g. God speaks *ashā*—i.e. 'with His truth';—this idea then becomes personified, first rhetorically and then literally, as the *Archangel* of '*rhythmic regularity*,' 'O *Asha*, shall I see thee,' etc.;—it is then, again naturally, used of the land's '*statute-law*,' including religious as well as civil regulations—which point, however, might properly come under the first;—it was then also not strangely applied to *Asha* as embodied in the '*Holy Congregation*' [(and in the later Zoroastrianism *Asha* without much incongruity ruled the Fire, as the first sacramental object;—see the altars)]. *Vohumanah*, traditionally regarded as the 'first (?) of God's creatures,' is really His '*Good Mind*';—then this personified rhetorically or actually as His *Archangel*,—then as embodied in the individual correct-citizen—the saint; [(after that also as alive within all the good-living creatures 'made by Mazda')]. *Khshathra* is the needed Sovereignty; first that of God Himself, without which the horrors of chaos would be ours,—then this personified rhetorically and literally as His *Archangel*;—then most practically meant as the actual Government of the particular State, the Holy Realm

* See previous Lectures.

† Recall also Manes.

[(and in the later Zoroastrianism in a most interesting, if curious, sense as guarding the metals)]. *Āramaiti* is the Energetic 'Zeal of the Lord' and of His Saints;—this pleasingly personified rhetorically as His 'daughter';—see the feminine form, and then literally as the *Archangel* [(later also as the genius of the Holy Earth our mother; (see also this in Veda))]. *Haurvatāt* is God's 'completeness,' a conclusive concept needful in the extreme;—then man's Health, Well-being, and Success;—then these as ever personified rhetorically and literally as Archangel [(later chiefly as the Guardian of the (healthful) Waters, purging all disease)]. *Amereatatāt* is Death-absence,—God's eternity, and man's long-life, with immortality,—then this personified rhetorically and literally [(then once more, and later only, as Guardian of plants giving food-life to all)].

Here is a bit of variation, if variation be anywhere. And it is often *well-nigh absolutely impossible* for us to tell in which one of these three, or four, differing applications the words are first and immediately intended to be understood. Here is then 'uncertainty'—and, indeed, with an emphasis to the ultimate. Yet, although we cannot always be at all sure as to which one of these applications is the one intended by the author to be expressed in any particular passage, not one of the three or four applications can escape the possibility of having been one of the first held in mind by the author, while *all are intimately related in their interior significance*,* and each must have had its place among the impulses and convictions which impelled the expressions. Here is 'included certainty' also of a character beyond all comparison. Other uncertainties occur from the defective nature of the grammatical terminations, which are archaic, unrelieved by the use of auxiliaries. This defect continued, doubtless, to be tolerated to some extent because these obscurities were explained to the first hearers by rhapsodists circulating perennially from hamlet to hamlet under the direct instructions of the

* Almost variations of one and the same all-inclusive idea.

Prophet and his successors, and at the periodical gatherings of the tribes 'from near and from far,' intoning also doubtless hundreds of companion Hymns now lost to us for ever. Yet, as we have freely acknowledged, to us who lack these original explanations the exact literary point of many passages may be again one of three or four, as well as the application of the names, if there be any difference between them;—see above, a closer decision being often impossible. I doubt whether the author, or authors, of the passages themselves could have later decided what they themselves had in their own sentences exactly meant to say in many a place;—that is to say, not without a strenuous personal exercise of the faculty of memory, recalling approximately what they had long since once intended to declare.

So much for the 'riddles,' as they have been called,* the 'enigmas' of the Gāthas. But the '*cause*' of it?—or 'of them all'—of this extraordinary condition of things in these now so crucially important documents?—my baffled while inexperienced reader will long since have asked this question: What could be the possible *reason* for such perplexing vagaries? Was it—the cause of this—the mere dulness of an affected throng—a stupid idiosyncrasy and nothing more? [(As I wrote in 1900 (see the *Critical Review* of 1900, p. 256): 'If they—the Gāthas—were cold and dry, like metaphysics or mathematics, little else could be expected;—simplicity, poverty, and (forceless) repetition in the choice of terms would be *de jure* the order of the day in them. But they are not cold in these senses;—they burn with life in the excited passages, and glow with it in the calmer ones;—notice the vocatives everywhere, the first and the second personals;—see also the iterations;—the composer was fervent rather than florid;—and this was well for us—but what was the exact reason for this apparent deficiency?—or, if you please, what was the excuse for it?')]]

* See the Appended Note for details.

Did, then, some bewildered enthusiasts, pressing on a propaganda amid the scattered villages of old Iran, adopt it,—this indefiniteness,—or fall into it, hap-hazard?—Far from it. These concepts thus astonishingly grouped were the signal expression—almost the very battle-cry—of an acutely pointed political-religious revival on which a throne depended.* With an ardent impulse rarely equalled—never surpassed—they totally threw off their ancient ways,—reversing at times the very titles of their own once-honoured gods, whose culture had now become badly congested with minor secular interests struggling with the higher elements, excessive image-worship having acquired influence, while all was overgrown with exaggerated dependence upon rites. It—this antiquated system—was no longer able to stir the degenerate populations to that one supreme test of ‘good intention,’ the sacred tillage of the soil on which existence then hung as now ;—their life’s only salvation, in fact, that tillage was, from murder, arson, and the raiding theft, pestilence, and starvation intervening. In the mighty struggle of revived virtuous energy all must indeed have begun upon the smallest of all small scales ;—but its spread—that of this doctrine of honest work—was obviously immense in mid-Asia, and as wonderful as it was great (see above) ;—the six pure concepts—with Ahura, seven—were identified with all Persian Faith.† All literary Greece, assaid, heard of them in their most vitally essential sense by B.C. 350 *circa*, again almost incredible ;—even the attention of the still ‘farther’ West was early earnestly engaged. The signal outbreak, from its longing after purity, certainly then unique in history, reminds one of the great Church Reform (upon a lesser scale), recalling also, somewhat, the English ‘Commonwealth,’ with the Puritan emigration. For the first time, so far as we know in recorded history, an earnest political movement appealed in such a degree to the moral sense

* See Yasna, XXXI, 5 : ‘Who prepares the throne for the faithless.’

† See again Plutarch, so often alluded to above.

of the individual,* pointedly, radically, continuously. They formulated the supreme, if simple, concepts like a creed,—short, indeed, and so more pointed,—defining closely the character of God in a manner not yet surpassed and seldom equalled,†—exalting and impressing also His personality at every line, for they ever called on Him for help. They even personified His Attributes for a like reason that the Christian *Logos* became incarnate ;—bringing God's just love, authority, and power to the very souls of His struggling people—in the crisis of a mortal strife. This saved the life-enthusiasm of the moment—and this alone ;—had they let up here, if even for an instant, their established polity would have crumbled to its atoms.

These names of the personified Attributes of themselves made up a short vocabulary as well as 'creed,'—certainly indeed it was—this list—but being sacrosanct as well as fresh, they—these terms—conveyed volumes at every sound ;—occurring everywhere, they controlled the sense of all that followed, and felt the life of all that went before ;—recall our own Bible, 'God is Love,' has 'Justice,' and 'Authority,' 'Zeal,' and 'Immortal Weal.' And all this shows why there is *so little explanation* ;—that is, of these differing applications,—with a style so rough. 'Glorification of the Ameshas' they have been called—these Gāthas ;—they were rather their 'delivery.' Intense and world-wide literary interest should centre here, because in our Gāthas enormously influential and emphatic groupings of first principles were evidently for the *first time* made ‡—so, pointedly. Who does not value such a 'driving home' of the supreme laws, even if literary detail beside it be more than a little dim ? It is these striking elements which dominate the theme, belittling 'uncertainties,' real or due to ignorance.

* See 'man for man' in Yasna XXX, 2.

† See previous Lectures. Is it not somewhat of a defect in our own later creeds that we do not follow this precedent ?

‡ Recall once more the vast historic and still surviving systems which found and find their beginnings here.

Later, indeed, as just said, these six became associated with lower, if still vital, interests—more pagan(?)—like;—but the keener people never lost the first ideas. This is proved most signally by the late Commentaries on the Yasna. Even in revived Sasanian times far later* than the Gāthas, these writings err on the other side—the side of excessive depth, of paucity; so, strange to say, on the side of meagreness in the lower scope. In the view just here—they actually fail to express fully that plain objectivity just mentioned, which the simple folk most like; even the first and wholly legitimate personifications in the Gāthas, undoubted as they are,—these valid, if inferior, elements—were in fact defectively rather than redundantly expressed;—*Asha* is almost always *Aharāyih*, ‘Righteousness,’ so, alone with little depiction of the ‘Angel,’ Gāthic as he was beyond all question; *Vohumanah* is *Vohuman*, ‘Good Mind’; *Khshathra* is *Khshathraçer*, from *Khshathra-vairya* of Yasna, LI, 1, ‘the Realm desirable’—where, indeed, is he in the text itself so certainly an Angel?—at times, but not so often as the others;—*Ār(a)maiti* is actually taken apart and etymologically reproduced as *bondag minishnīh*, ‘perfect thinking’;—no hint of Angel or of ‘earth.’† The ideas were so adored and pointed that they then controlled the diction—as in fact they should to us;—this as inevitable;—‘space’ alone—that is, to save it—space in the sentence—was not at all the cause of the succinctness, as if the chief ideas crowded all others out—though ‘space’ was precious;—the great ‘uncertainties’ are then, as said at

* The religion of the Pahlavi Commentaries is a thing apart. It should be *separately* and carefully studied. To underrate either this religion or that of the Vedic Commentaries, because either was not actually critical in the discriminations which as exegesis they attempted to carry out, would be wholly beside the mark. By whatever minor or greater misconceptions of the original form of the religion they may be hampered, as discussions they often expressed an increased spirituality. See my emphatic distinctions as to this, in my *Introduction to Yasna I.*, Leipzig, 1911.

† Neryosang’s Sanskrit more fully supplies these defects, but in places only.

first,* hemmed in with a greater wall, unbreakable,—of 'certainties.'

To sum up, pressing the matter home. We cannot, indeed, be quite so sure whether *Asha* means God's Truth, in certain sentences, its Archangel, the code of law, moral, civil, ritual,—or the Holy Tribes in which it was 'incarnate,' [(or indeed, later, in the very sacramental Fire upon the Altars—fine symbol of God's purity)];—but we do know beyond all question that God was there, in each one or the other of these thoughts—all inextricably connected as they were and are—interior identities riveting their substrata, each one needful to each, and somewhere very near. *Asha* as the Eternal Truth of 'Balance' was the sublimest, comprehending all;—but where could there be any 'balance' without things balanceable?—living fibre must be also there to thrill at the moral concept,—tissue of undiscoverable subtlety to harbour thought.—Sentient being alone made *Asha* 'flesh' in a 'Church' redeemed. Even the abstract dream of justice is still undreamable without a dreamer. *Asha* as the holy race was imperatively needed to harbour and reveal *Asha* in any sense at all. Was a Supreme God thinkable in solitude?—Having power to create, He would create;—begetting, He would beget. Not least of all is God in Fire—which is not the mere fine 'sign,' but life itself;—the 'mode of motion,' heat perpetual as it is, the 'force' in all—'God's Son' in actuality. Well has the Christian Church her seven lamps.† Without it—this heat-life-motion-fire—no brain could stir, nor heart be moved, nor universe revolve. We can never indeed be quite so sure whether *Vohumanah* voices God's Love, its Archangel, the living Saint, or indeed, later, other forms of genial life; but we are by all means sure that God's love is universal, and that it exists in each such thing;—

* See above.

† So often, this from Revelations, so close akin to the great 'Seven'; see previous Lectures.

but where could it be real without some spiritual person well called 'angelic,' or the happy human heart with its mother-love and better passions?;—see also the same in almost every living object—each of the four ideas glides quick into the other. Nor can we, indeed, be always quite so sure whether *Khshathra* is God's Sovereignty, its Personification, or the Realm itself so sacred;—but where would be the rule without a subject—the king without his throne?—God did not need to rule Himself. He *is* rule itself essential.

So, later also, what was there so belittling in thinking of the 'metals' making mechanics possible—with all they rear?;—see the ideas again so closely linked—and the depth is deepest often, strange again to say it, where the touch is light. Nor can we always be so sure whether *Āramaiti* points to Zeal,* to her who alone makes 'zeal' reality,—or indeed, later, to the 'Holy Earth' ('our mother'), with its 'ploughshare' thought—an *Ara*—mind—first instinct of life civilised,—turning desert to verdure, verdure to food,—but God is there in each. Nor can we be always sure whether *Haurvatāt* immediately means God's 'All-ness,' that is, as Person in speech-figure or reality, or that in Man's Weal of soul and body,—or indeed later, in Health waters;—but one of the first three thoughts is ever there;—and each is eminent. Nor can we be always quite so sure where *Amertatāt* is His Eternity, its Angel by word-picture or reality, or man's deathlessness here and 'there,' or later even the bread-plants turning all to life. Surely if God be any where, He is here again in things like these. Where is the fatal fault?

I even dare to say what, indeed, may seem to some quite singular:—Not only does the Gāthic thought-life survive these doubts, but, in one high light of it, they actually help on our grip. For they, these hesitations, call into play constructive instinct at every word, as the mind sweeps over all the varying points, and the grand certainties

* The 'Zeal of the Lord of Hosts.'

stand out plainer, like boughs of a winter tree ;—suggested strength looms over us. Uncertainty here is many-sidedness,—many-sidedness is amplification,—and amplification here concerns what most of us well recognise to be the first consistent statements of interior faith. Elsewhere for literary point obscurity is, indeed, harassing, if not fatal ;—with Homer and the Veda we pursue each scintillating glint to its ultimate, ever ready to spring upon our reader the remotest fraction of an idea, if new, in issues, too, bereft of deep significance ;—but here we are engaged upon the very foundations of human moral religious thought, the quintessence of all just life—without which we should still be worse than animals ;—paramount values stare at us, from every line.

With what emotion, then, must even a beginner here, in this deep 'search,' become aware that these, his formidable Gāthic texts, are, when looked at discerningly, with rare exceptions, one long, unbroken stretch of clearest words, out of which, too, a pointed sense shines *prima facie*, not only one of utmost value as a stepping-stone, but one which often survives our closest scrutiny. To make this evident, I restore the Avesta words to the actual now current Vedic Sanskrit forms—for *Avesta* is *almost Veda*.* And while Avestic literary search has been kept back by these many applications of the chief terms recurring, Vedic has been here clear for centuries—that is to say, its syntax has been clear,—not so fully the detailed 'interpretation.'†

A Gāthic sentence when restored with science almost at once stands out as Gāthic-vedic in its plainest forms ;‡ this from the concentrated Gāthic thought with its purpose straight.§ Is it not, then, after all, once more and for this

* See the Fourth Lecture.

† Far from it ;—no two expositors continuously agree.

‡ The rare *hapaxlegomena* and odd difficulties do not count, with a sense, too, pointed everywhere, *prima facie*.

§ For this reason, when invited to contribute to Roth's *Festgruss*, I gave a translation of Yasna XXVIII. into Sanskrit, for which I also received the thanks of the great Vedic-avestic Guru. See also the *Transactions* of

further reason somewhat of a distinguished thing, as said, that we cannot be always exactly quite so sure which great intensity is first in mind;—the uncertainties *here too*, catch on our thought, as said above, keeping it ever more in touch with the splendour of the whole—this too keeps off satiety, as we read them and re-read. And the pure thoughts shine sometimes strongest in solar beam—let us once more take note—where all else is dim (*NB.*);—one might strike the obscurities away—to return to our first proposition (see above, page 103),—resulting voids gape harmless.*

I think that I have now considered every probable point made *re* uncertainties—and was there not a cause! If the Gāthas contain the earliest pointed effort of their kind to reform the human heart, being also alive to-day in all our faiths, on which, too, futurity may hang, they are, indeed, unique in morals, and morals are never old;—it is the world's hard task to drive them home—as it was their Prophet's. Life's safety, food, clothing, shelter, education, were all impossible, had Justice never been proclaimed, with Power. I close as I began—the Gāthic fragments *occupy a totally exceptional position* for the reasons stated—as against esteemed high-colour and better sentence-pointing—elsewhere.† As I wrote in 1900 (see again the *Critical Review*, p. 258), so we may once more say: 'While the Rik scintillates with a hundred human passions, rich in colour beyond a common measure, the Gāthas burn with sterner fire, narrowed and severe, a Puritan fanaticism;—the one is

the Eleventh Congress of Orientalists held in Paris in 1897, where I gave Yasna XLIV. in Sanskrit, re-edited in the *Zeitschrift* of the German *Zeitschrift* for July 1911, followed in October 1912. In my just-issued *Yasna I.* this lengthy chapter is rendered fully into Sanskrit. Yasna XXIX. has just appeared in that form in the *Muséon*, and the rest of the Gāthas, long since so treated in manuscript, will follow in *Z.D.M.G.*, etc., if time be spared.

* The forceful elements would not only still be there—but positively still more clear.

† My great Vedic-avesta friend, Professor R. von Roth, used to say: 'The Veda is the most poetic book, but the Avesta has far more *theology*' (doubtless referring to the expression of the 'moral idea').

nature eager for acquisition just or selfish, and spread out in its depictments like the red of the Auroras, the other was a reformed enthusiasm, centred and intense * (and once alive in fervid generations).

'The meditative parts are as much pre-occupied with deep-felt sentiment as the more vehement ones are engaged with earnest utterance;—read Yasna XXXII., XXXIII., parts of XXXI. and XXXIV., and the *polemik* throughout;—even in the wedding fragment ferocity appears;—everywhere the thrice-holy Law, the Love, the Rule, the Busy Will of Ahura pervade the subject-matter, and show the urgent fresh convictions ever ready to break out;—it is this which makes the Gāthas "easier," if only in a preliminary sense. Any reader with a good guide can get the cream of them in a comparatively very short period of time,—though, to absorb their full significance, originally and as a teacher, should consume the toil of patient years—a duty seldom met;—but for the greatest of all interests *obscurities can wait.*' †

* And let us never forget that we have left to us but three-sevenths of the full volume of such righteous song, with all that this implies;—to miss this point is to miss everything;—the survivals not only prove lost messages, but they prove a once *vast public* so animated. See the Third Lecture.

† I append the testimony of another writer, re-cited from the same number of the *Critical Review*, p. 255: 'The Gāthas, or Hymns, of Zoroaster are by far the most precious relic that we possess of Oriental religion,—the only sacred literature which in dignity, in profoundness, in purity of thought, and absolute freedom from unworthy conceptions of the Divine could ever for a moment be compared with the Hebrew Scriptures.' [(Do people who read that think, then, that these Gāthas can be shunted off as things of little moment? Really, if we have any sane sagacity at all, they are matters of supreme historical and present importance. Human character in millions of struggling persons has been redeemed by them, with their fellow-writings;—and is this a trivial matter? Look, again, over the other Lectures. All the possible crimes have been greatly reduced by these things, with our poor human sorrows much relieved;—and is that of no importance?—We must not all be 'fatuous.')]]

APPENDED NOTE.*

Some Leading 'Uncertainties.'

I give two examples here of those uncertainties which more closely touch us, and would apologise to my general reader, as such details are necessarily more technical and therefore naturally less pleasing. In Y. 28, 1,† we have a thought so subtle in its refinement that we can hardly credit it as possible for the time and place: 'With hands uplift'—we have—'I ask for the first-*boon*' (so supplying from verse 9?)—'of the most bounteous spirit . . .';—see also the far later Introduction to Y. 28, which has a reference to the same idea 'boon,' reading another form of the word. So far all seems moderate enough;—but when we find out that this boon is *prima facie* 'all actions done in the Right,' we begin to hesitate;—for this rendering is incredibly 'interior' for the time and place;—only the fact that there are like subtle occurrences elsewhere in the Gāthas relieves our scepticism. How, then, can we escape this 'sublimity'?, for—as the unaccustomed reader may well be astonished to learn—one-half of our business is to challenge the 'sublimities' at every step, reducing them so far as may be possible to commonplace;—see our similar procedure with the Bible.‡ We must then, as said, challenge this 'sublimity,' though we meet the like elsewhere on every side;—so only it is set in its just light. But we must also *mention its possibility*, that of the 'sublimity,' everywhere, even when we ourselves would modify it, otherwise we may miss some of the finest thoughts

*Addressed only to closer students. † In the *Critical Review* of 1900 I gave a number of examples of the less important indefiniteness.

‡ Many a 'sublime' concept must be modified. Recall the 'beauty of holiness,'—it means, at least to *us*, indeed all that it seems to mean;—but the first thought of the composer may well have been the sacred 'beauties of the service,' or 'holy raiment' used at the altar. If we accept 'sublimities' wholesale, and are obliged to modify them later, we place ourselves at a disadvantage.

of Avesta. We must do this especially when writing for scholars of great authority upon other subjects but non-experts here, for serious specialists are few. [(Here, as I need not say, is where I chiefly differ from my exceedingly few colleagues, who print only their own conclusions, leaving the great Vedists who are not also Avesta scholars in a maze of confusion. This practice in treating the Veda, while stating only our own views, is more rational, as the Veda is closely studied by a large public; but Gāthic Avesta has its very peculiar claims as the first document of interior religion. To disaffect intending students here through an inadequate procedure involves serious loss to the cause of the higher morality.)] Mention and describe the 'sublimity,'—thus I repeat,—or you may miss some of the grandest ideas of antiquity,—this *de rigueur*;—but then assault and challenge them, these sublimities, in *your notes*, even if you positively accept them;—test your steel girders, I insist, or your houses may come down;—let the beginner note this well.* As to this passage, Y. 28, 1, other writers often resort to what seems to me to be the utter destruction of all syntax in the sentence. Space fails me here to cite their well-meant efforts,—I reproduce them elsewhere.† We cannot here, at Y. 28, 1, emasculate the force of *Asha* as the Law, suggesting mere ritual observance; nor say '*puṇyavān*asmi*'—'Meritorious I am' with gifts to priest, and prayers for mere good luck, well paid for,—*puṇyavān* would mean more than 'quite fortunate' here;—these 'deeds' here referred to apply in the next words to the cattle culture on which all civilisation then depended. See also the sentences just following: 'the attained prizes, rewards of this bodily life and the mental';—see also in 28, 4, 'I, knowing the rewards of Ahura Mazda,' and so on throughout; see also the expression in Y. 30

* Apply this to all exegesis—Biblical—classical—literary. We challenge in our detailed discussion all these beautiful concepts, and the more fiercely the more we value them.

† See the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July 1911.

‘as to thought, word, and deed’; *—this constantly recurring ‘sublimity’ elevates the tone of the entire piece, as well as that of the particular expressions just adjacent. ‘Ritual observance’ was, indeed, included—as well it might be, for it was then, as now, vital to stability—but it is not conceivable that the composer should have so limited this prayer here to ‘ritual’ in view of all the others. My last device to diminish the fine effect just here might be to omit the word ‘my,’ which brings in the suspicious subtlety to the expressions, so rendering, ‘I pray for impelling grace toward all actions of the holy community done with Asha,’ not merely ‘my own actions,’—‘all actions in public administration and polity, regulating the one essential national industry;—may these be carried out with universal justice, regularity, and efficiency, *i.e.* according to the Law, Asha.’ This is not quite so subtle as ‘the gift, the righteous actions of the individual soul,’ ‘all actions done in the Right,’ as if the actions were themselves indeed immediately their own reward; see elsewhere, being actually referred to as the immediate benevolent agency of Mazda, the ‘Bounteous Spirit,’ taking possession of the soul, and making all its actions positively holy. There is some difference here;—perhaps not so much;† but *NB.*, the Avesta words are actually the same whichever way we render. A closer case to show our point is again in Y. 28, verse, or strophe, 5. At first sight we seem to have:—‘O Asha (Angel of the Holy Law), when shall I see thee,—I finding the Good Mind, and Obedience, *Sraosha*, the way to the Lord . . .’—or ‘I finding Obedience and the throne of Mazda . . .’;—and it is imperative to report at once such a view, or we may miss a beautiful idea;—but we must by no means submit to such a fine bit without an effort;—we must lower its beauty, if possible. *Sraosha* = ‘Obedience’ might be taken in the sense of the ‘Obedient One,’ which seems

* Language like this before and after a passage makes an immediate lowering of ideas in Y. 28, 1, impossible. • •

† The same words.

to occur elsewhere in the Gāthas;—this would take off the edge of the subtlety. *Sraosha* does indeed occur as equalling precisely 'Obedience itself,' and so as absolutely inevitable in its finest and closest sense at Y. 45, 2—'they who render me Obedience';—there neither the Angel 'Obedience,' nor the 'Loyal Saint' is at all possible,—but in endeavouring to escape from the 'incredibly lofty' here, as in Y. 28, 1, we might diminish the 'sublimity' by the device just mentioned with regard to 'Obedience the way to the Lord,' and render 'O Asha, when shall I see thee' (or 'shall I indeed see thee'), 'I finding Vohu Manah and the throne of (?) Ahura'—[(yet the word for 'of' is in a dative for genitive, and not in a genitive)]—'the throne of Mazda the most beneficent toward the Obedient,'—but the syntax in such a rendering would be very difficult;—the dative for genitive or *vice versa* occurs mostly only later as in Sanskrit, —and it looks here extremely awkward—in view of all. We might, however, possibly depress the effect by rendering 'I finding Vohuman and the throne of Ahura and *Sraosha* (the Angel of the Heeding Ear), the (One) Obedient to Mazda the most beneficent';—or 'I finding *Sraosha*, the Angel of the Heeding Ear, leading the way (?) * to Mazda the most beneficent'—this also might lower the 'sublimity' a little [the sublimity of 'Obedience the way (?) to the Lord,' but not so very much.]] The point is, as I repeat, that, finding Obedience, as the way to God, though commonplace enough to-day, is too subtle in its purity for the time and place. The sum and substance, however, remains, as we see, unshaken with either alternative sense, while the literal words are absolutely the same with any interpretation.

No one anywhere doubts—so let me pause still longer to press home—that the prophet wished to 'see *Asha*' solely because he was 'the Angel of the Holy Law' 'as to thought, word, and deed'; nor that he wished to 'find *Vohu Manah*' solely because He was the 'Archangel of God's *Benevolence* and Good Will,' 'in the bodily life and the

* *Sraosha* 'leads the way' in the later Zoroastrianism.

mental';—nor that he wished to 'find the throne,' or 'way,' for the holiest of reasons; nor to see 'the One obedient,' or 'the throng obedient,' to the 'most bountiful Ahura-Mazda' solely for the reason that he (?) was, or 'they were,' thus obedient—so expressing the deepest of sympathetic loyalty;—just as the Christian longs to see the 'multitude whom no man can number,' as mentioned once before. This last is certainly, indeed, not quite so fine as our *prima facie*;—see above,—but it does not fall so far short of it.

The manifold 'certainty' of one or the other of these thoughts, too sadly commonplace, as said, to-day, but great and epoch-making then at that time and place—again includes and circumscribes the 'uncertainties' of the other particular pointings of the literary sense;—but then as mere literature how great they—these uncertainties—here are! And so throughout, though here at Y. 28, 5, we have what is to me the severest puzzle of the throng, with words, mark you, absolutely the same.*

* The remaining line of the strophe gives us another tangle, preserving, however, the inevitable depth. See it elaborately treated in the Gāthas, *S.B.E.* XXXI., and in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July 1911; for the literal Sanskrit of it, see Roth's *Festgruss*, 1893.

SEVENTH LECTURE.

THE MORAL IDEA IN THE GĀTHAS AS APPLIED TO CONTEMPORANEOUS PERSONS AND EVENTS.

As I have dwelt so copiously and so incisively upon the moral idea as being pointedly effective in the Gāthas in its finest and keenest sense, with the immense inferences upon the history of interior religion and its philosophy which such a fact implies, it is high time that I should, on the other hand, do my best to guard my readers against the exaggerated impression that these ideas were worked up in any exclusive spirit, as if being entirely academic and of the cloister, having for their sole object the purifying of individual character here and there hap-hazard, if one could so express oneself, and in sporadic instances with little thought of any immediate practical issues. Such an opinion would be like bared poles to a ship. The Gāthic moral idea, like applied mathematics, butts full upon real life at every turn. And yet this—strange, and again not so strange, to say—is a view which is much needed to be put plainly for the benefit of some semi-experts. Writers of this description have actually supposed that the academic intensity of the authors of the Gāthas was the sole reason why they did not mention the important secondary Deities whose names appear only in the later Avesta, and that this was also the reason why other particulars were shut out from the scope of their attention. Such an opinion, as one need hardly remark, is the result of untaught and jejune misdirection;—and to refute it is chiefly my purpose in re-editing this fragment.

To suppose that Zarathushtra had either the leisure or the inclination, in the midst of the civil (or border) warfare in which he was so unhappily involved, to vapour about 'holiness' by itself alone considered, and solely in the abstract in an exclusive sense pure and simple, without any necessary connection at all with his immediate circumstances, would be to hold a very uncritical opinion indeed. We could not reasonably expect this of him during the harassments of his campaigns, military or political, or military, religious, and political together,—nor wish him to dwell upon the abstract concept of 'holiness' in general and for all ages and for all people, and apart from the matters immediately before him. The circumstances called most imperatively for the application of the Holy Law, the 'Righteous Order,' to save the existing fabric of the national life. And if we would not press on that point to demand of him an abstractness of Justice bereft of all application to an actual situation, how much less could we expect of him to dwell on a totally abstract 'Love' (for, if it were to a so very refined degree 'an abstract,' it might even exist in the hearts of the 'accursed foes' themselves); nor had he time to trouble with any 'Sovereign Power' so comprehensive as to belong also to the other side,* nor with 'abstract' zeal, the Alert, but in their evil sense, the Ready Mind, and as little did he concern himself with Immortal Happiness in the same vague general sense for every existing being (including the clamouring throngs in arms before his face). When his campaigns *were over*, then, or in the brief intervals between them in his calmest years of rest,—yes,—then indeed these thoughts, might be or they might become totally 'abstract' and nobly so, as indeed we see them at times during the very conflicts in the Gāthas;—and he may even have longed for their realisation without limit and in every living thing, perhaps even in the non-Iranians so long as they did not take the field, but in the midst of '*business*,' and of such* business as

* With its fell deity.

he had before him, he needed all his wits for the movements on which the nation's all depended. Asha was the Holy Order, in God's law fast enough;—it was eternal, sublime, infinite, etc. etc., as much as one could wish it, and as strongly as one could express it, but it was *appropriated*, seized by privilege, *embodied* in an established system. He was engaged in a struggle in which absolutely supreme interests hung often in suspense, amidst scenes at times terrific.—He wished to know, and very quickly too, whether every thing were *taut*; whether every priest, judge, soldier, or ploughman was awake and alive. Had he caught an Atharvan fumbling (with his rites), a judge hesitating, a soldier 'dubious,' or a farmer lazy, we might almost hear (in imagination) his short sentence,—and it would be one to startle us. Asha was God's Holiness, Eternal Right, Law, and Order, in full honour and truth, but as he for the moment saw Asha, 'he' (or it) was Asha in the ranks before his eyes, in the priests beside his altars, and in the tillers in his fields. Work was everywhere to be done, skilled, rapid, and thorough; and Asha (God's Order) was the only force which could get his men to do it. He (Asha) was therefore seen chiefly, if not only in the loyal corps of his armies, in the digested laws of his codes, in the 'peculiar' people of his tribes; wherever else Asha might be, or might not be, was a dream for calmer days. [(Zarathushtra had then no time whatever for a Holiness which might smoulder in the infidel; his great, but at the same time his only, 'call' was with Asha in the Church.)] The 'abstractness' of Asha was thus in so far limited, at moments or absorbed for long intervals in the machinery which Zarathushtra had set up, and in the work which it, or he, was intended and destined to complete. [(I take nothing back, let it be noted well—not one syllable that I have ever said or written. Asha was a holiness deep and living indeed, none more so, far-reaching beyond comparison in its judicial and benevolent purposes, for it even aimed at the conversion of contemporane-

ous opponents,* nor could there have been a holiness more fervent in the enthusiasm with which it aimed to inspire every universal virtue, or in the tenacity with which it endeavoured to maintain every form of noble action, and to carry such principles out to their most pointed effect in action; but it was sometimes, though perhaps necessarily, fixed *in a holy race.*)]

As to how far—in fact, Asha ruled beyond the nation's border, amongst the best of living Gentiles who were utterly foreign to him, and had been in no possible sense at all in arms against him or his enterprise, Zarathushtra had not more and perhaps even less to say than the supreme Christian Pontiff has to say to-day about the potential 'holiness' of the millions who never heard his claims. That principle and the enthusiasm of Asha was not in any sense confined to a 'mechanical' sanctity, we may be sure, though it pervaded an orderly working structure;—no verbal mummeries alone could for a moment have satisfied its ideal of devotion; nor could even a practical honesty in word and barter have been all it sought for,—the heart and the soul, according to its principle, must be as absolutely pious as the ritual must be pure and the civil statutes flawless. As the two spirits themselves were good or evil 'in thought and in word and in deed,' so the worshipper 'must content Ahura with actions essentially true.' Zarathushtra's holiness must be practical, and it must be spiritual likewise for the 'bodily life and the mental.' Here I am absolutely positive, after years of searching thought,—he could indeed only think of it at moments when he could see it in the castes of his warrior State, and he had no time for Asha either in the distance or in the 'atmosphere,' yet even in the most privileged of his interested oligarchy, the holiness which he recognised must not be of a technically limited character, for it must be, before all things, sincere. And so of the other enthroned characteristics; they were the Good Mind, the Kingdom,

* Cf. Yasna, XXXI, 1.

the Ready Zeal of Ahura in His immediate people as such, but they were none the less in reality and in actuality as well a 'Good Mind,' a 'Power,' and a 'Zeal,' sovereign and energetic in the individual believer's own soul, with at times a lofty thought for all men everywhere.

The entire scheme of his system was closely harmonised with his active administration, political and civil. Such was the moral idea in the Gāthas, as I discover it. It was often closely localised, for the most part losing sight of the non-Zoroastrian, hampered at every step of its progress, as well as marred in every impulse of its sentiment by a furious fanaticism (for the life of Zoroastrianism was at stake), yet also everywhere preserving fine elements of conscientiousness. No soldier, priest, nor tiller amongst the foreign hordes could have 'any share' even for a moment in the inspired Attributes and in the protection which they offered, but neither was a Gāthic man *ashavan* from his mere membership *per se*; the 'official holiness' which he bore was no more indelible than the sanctity which cleaves to the modern Catholic disciple. It was a stamp, a *χαρακτήρ* which meant everything in the way of privilege and covenant, but it was a mark which might wear off through abrasions if not guarded with close vigilance, or it might become a brand of infamy if defiled by treason, rather than remain a scar or sign of honour won through a lifetime of virtue, of valour, and of thrift.

But the point of the above cannot be put into its proper focus and kept there, unless we fully recognise that one dominating circumstance which I have implied throughout—that the Gāthas were the hymns of war, and the moral distinctions drawn in them are necessarily those which were supposed to exist between opposed and rival communities to be settled by force, rather than those which might arise between estranged and intercriminating individuals in the same community to be settled by law. Men are judged of in the bulk in the Gāthas, as they

so often are in the Bible, and as is usual at similar junctures, or throughout similar long periods of time. As Puritans could see no good in Cavaliers, and as loyalists could only detest the principles of rebels, so Zoroastrianism knew no term too hard for the hated throngs who opposed at once their interests and their faith. We have, therefore, strange to say, no abundant or even adequate opportunity to judge of the personal aspects under which the moral idea applied itself immediately in that part of Iran at the date of the Gāthas ;—and this, notwithstanding the fact that they are themselves made up of fervent expressions implying an earnest reverence for the moral sentiment in all its forms, and a devotion to it under every conceivable combination of circumstances. Curious as it may seem, the far less lofty Vendidad and even the Yashts give ampler items for such applications and analyses, for there under the jurisdiction of the penal law, as under that of the ritual statutes of the Vendidad, the Zoroastrian is comparatively at peace, immersed in the busy toil of civic life which discloses the individual nature and occupations of the average citizen at every turn ; and so of the less warlike Yashts—see especially the beautiful fragment in Yasht XXII. Asha, the inspired spirit of the law, is no longer called on to arouse the patriotic ardour of the Zoroastrian to the point of heroic action, fanning its fury to white heat, and painting in still darker colours the malignant motives of the ‘enemy’ ; he, or it, is needed to measure all possible deeds—domestic, commercial, social—of the best known Iranian citizen as well as the deeds of the most doubtful, and so to divide good men from the evil, not in vast multitudes or in nations, but individually, and as man is separate from man. Yet the Gāthic type of the moral idea preceded the legal and gave it birth, and therefore, as of course, includes it ;—and while the hymns themselves do not so fully express its incidence and force, yet at times even there in the Gāthas it searches the individual, and closely, Zoroastrian though he be—see especially Yasna XXX. 2, 3. With this remark I

will close my plea for the general clearness of these most ancient fragments, so far as they express the few salient points in theoretical and moral theology, comparatively judged. [(From those weighty sentences in the Gāthas I have here endeavoured lightly to sketch a few animated scenes in this long past civilisation. I do this from ideas which in the eyes of some readers may seem to be merely mechanically expressed, and with a futile redundancy in those spare * lines;—but to any person gifted with interior insight,—each of these formulated ideas contains volumes;—and from them, if time and space allowed, I should boldly reconstruct a filled-out picture. One scholar could actually see no meaning in the constant repetition of ‘*Asha*’ itself, and seemed rather to look upon this priceless feature as a superfluity and a blemish, whereas in this pointed recurrence of *Asha* everywhere, we see the most startling evidence of a religious revival.)] †

* To show the absolute essential necessity of reporting all the meaning in these meagre expressions, we must remember that perhaps all but some three out of an original twenty-one (?) books of the Avesta have been lost.

† The above is a fragment re-written from a Lecture delivered at the Indian Institute before 1898, and published in the *Critical Review*.

EIGHTH LECTURE.

IMMORTALITY IN THE GĀTHA AS UNBROKEN HOLY LIFE BEGUN ON EARTH.*

SURELY among the doctrines taught in connection with Religion none save those of a moral nature can equal 'immortality.' And it was precisely this great expectation which the pre-Exilic canon,—if canon the pre-Exilic Scriptures can be said to have had—failed distinctly to express. So much the more, then, do we value it as it appears in the vast sister-lore which surrounded, cherished, and saved Judah in the Exilic times, while it was prominent in the general faith of all mid-Asia—that is to say, in so far as mid-Asia was represented by its central Empire. If, then, this main idea in the faith of Iran helped on the kindred thought in Exilic Judah, a service incalculably great † was done,—that is to say, 'great' in the view of those who at all value such a doctrine as that of another life in an unending future. And there is, in fact, one phase of such a thought which should make it dear to every human heart even where unbelief and doubt arrest us in regard to the never-ending continuance. Few can have failed to see that Heaven's light, where it is at all believed in, reflects redeeming beams on us and ours,—for who that has ever experienced religious conviction can have failed to feel that Heaven, if it be ever attained, must be

* This fragment of a Lecture was delivered before an exceptionally distinguished audience at the Indian Institute in 1892—it is here, however, much reduced, also re-arranged. It has been also, with the others, frequently re-applied in Instructional Lectures since its first delivery. •

† See above throughout, and see below.

- *begun here*,—and it should be only to the vulgar a gaudy scene of detached repletion totally unlike all holier joys of earth. Does Avesta give us here any help in this last particular as well?—If so, its services were still more incalculably great.

(1) And first of all, let us pause for a moment at the word which most expresses it. *Amereta-* is Avesta for Vedic *Amṛita-*, and our '*immortal*'—these are the same words identically, with mere phonetic change. The '*im-*' privative in '*immortal*' is the nasalised '*a*' privative of *amereta-*, *āmṛita-*. Avesta *-cre* spells Vedic *-ṛi*;—our *-or-* is variant to the two. The '*l*' of '*immortal*' is close akin to the '*r*,' so cropping out again;—the *-tāt*, *-tvá*, and *-ty* express the same. '*Ameretatāt*,' '*amṛitatvá*,' and '*Immortality*' are then identically one, slowly modified through ages. *Amṛita* in Vedic was more often said of Gods.

(2) In Gātha the idea was elevated in mere culmination among the six after the five. Where would the 'Justice' be, with the 'Love,' 'Authority,' 'Zeal,' and 'Weal,' were they so soon to perish?—The very 'idea' of Truth is 'unalterable'; Ahura was for 'every now the same.'

Ameretatāt, death-absence, included the fuller consummation of the five sublime abstracts so marvellously shifting at every breath to personalities—as if by automatic action, in reciprocating force.* * We often positively cannot tell whether the great 'thought' or the 'Archangel' is before us;—so of the 'two lives' as parts of one, we often ask 'which is uppermost'? As in life physical present, past, and future in the racial longevity are unbroken through myriad *æons*, so is God's life one in us. In Vedic the 'hundred autumns' of the Ṛik were the prize first prayed for, yet even there futurity was not forgotten.

'Pass on, pass on, by paths of old long trodden,
Whereon primæval fathers passed from hence;
Váruṇa, Yama, kings in bliss rejoicing,
Thou'lt see alike both God and Man at once.

Unite thee with thy forebears then with Yama,
 So with thy Virtue's prize in highest Heaven,
 From blame all free again toward home be turning,
 Join with thy body now, all-glorious blest.'

R. V., X, 14. 7, 8.

And that the life of the departed was not to be unconscious, see R. V., X, 16. 2 :—

'And when he gains that spirit life among them,
 Will of the Gods shall he (most just) fulfil.'

Another deep corroboration from Veda of our 'two lives' as the 'one' meets us also in Indra. He was Himself 'long-lived,' so for 'eternal'—thus from this life here. Ahura, too, so thought our great Avesta-vedist, may be 'long-lived' for 'eternal' in Yasna 28. If 'long life' be 'Eternity' for the very Gods expressing life as one, how much more is a holy human life but Heaven forefelt?

(3) Another chief Avestic thought closely kindred here joins on ;—'prosperity is life.' In the mighty dual conflict (Y. 30) God's side is 'All-life-happiness'—'success' in its higher sense. Ahura made 'happiness' for man,—so the Inscription—'Non-life' would be its opposite. Goodness is 'happy welfare' of its essence ;—beatitude, not its mere outside product, half-mechanical. '*Haurvatāt*,' '*Sarvatāt(ī)*,' '*Salubrity*' (the same words for one), here culminates the foregoing four,—for what would they be all and each without 'completeness,' *i.e.* success, and what would that be without 'continuance'? 'Eternity' seals the preceding five ;—the 'ephemeral' is nothing. The soul treading toward Heaven over Chinvat* is *young*. Goodness has nought to do with long or short, it is embryonic peace unbroken ; death-absence but guards it whole ;—it is infinitude. The very sense of Frashakart is 'progress' ; † —millennial depictrments are by negatives—as with this

* Yasht XXII.

† 'Making all things fresh, advancing.'

our great Ameretatāt;—we have ‘*never rotting*,’ ‘*never ageing*,’* etc.,—a sort of ‘excelsior’ is the keynote. It, the death-absence, could as little divide Frashakart from Garodman itself as we Christians can divide our Paradise from Heaven.†

(4) Next,—to our texts. In Y. 28. 2 we have, in free translation:—

‘I, who you two encircle, Great Giver, the Lord with
the Good Mind,
Gifts for the two lives grant me, this bodily life and
the mental,
The prizes through Right deserved;—thus to glory He
brings His blest.’

Why such a piquant phrase as the ‘two lives or two worlds’ in Old Iran, amidst its barren hills?—Was it a literal distinction between soul and brain? To some extent so, beyond all doubt; and that of itself was most refined,—commonplace enough to-day. Where does the Iliad speak like that? Somewhere doubtless, but where? And that the ‘lives’ were ‘here and hereafter’ we hardly need to prove; ‘getting gifts’ for the ‘two lives’ was an expression which could only take its shape from this world! While the ‘beatific welfare’ is obviously that beyond, the word itself suggesting ‘glory,’ rather than mere ‘comfort’ here, and one of the lives of course was therefore ‘Heaven,’ in view of this Y. 28. 2: ‘Give me, O Mazda Ahura, the prizes of the two worlds, that of the body and that of the mind, by which through sanctity (he?) may place their recipients in shining-weal.’ Here, while ‘Heaven’ is introduced beyond a doubt, we have ‘the prizes of the bodily world,’ distinctly referred to in close connection with it.

* See Yasht XIX., and elsewhere.

† *Pairi-d(a)eza*,—see elsewhere. We are all notoriously a little confused, as to the exact difference between millennium, Paradise, and Heaven.

At Y. 30. 4, we may render freely :—

‘Then those Spirits created, as first they two came together,
Life and our Death decreeing how at last the World
shall be ordered,
For evil men (Hell) the worst life, for the faithful the
best mind (Heaven).’

The word ‘best,’ *Vahisht*, in this verse is the *Bahisht* of the Persians, a name for ‘Heaven’ so continued on from this and similar places. So, by the way, we have in Y. 28. 8 :—

‘That best I ask, Thou Best One, one in mind with
Holiness best (*Asha Vahishta*),
Of Thee, Ahura, I ask it, for Frashaoshtra and for me
beseeching,
And freely to us may’st Thou grant it for the Good
Mind’s lasting age.’

Yet the expression for ‘all duration’ of ‘the Good Mind’s lasting age’ (notice how fine it is), refers here far more impressively to future temporal ages, or indeed the next immediately coming years, through which the Good Mind, Archangel of the Holy Reason, was to inspire God’s people and through them mankind.

In Y. 28. 11 we have :—

‘I who to guard Thine Order (Thy Holy Law) and the
Good Mind am set for ever,
Teach Thou me forth from Thyself to proclaim from
Thy mouth of spirit
The laws by which at the first this world into being
entered.’

He actually uses ‘for ever’ of his own teaching. Notice the width and force of the idea—the ‘for ever’ was indeed that same ‘beyond’; yet it would be ridiculous to lose sight of its identity with his life of apostleship begun here; and see how it roots itself to earth—he was ‘set’ for ever,—and

he asks for God's tongue itself to help him proclaim the truth—surely not alone in 'Heaven.'

So in Y. 32. 5, where the word 'Immortality' is used :—

'Man therefore will ye beguile (ye faithless sinners) of
Weal and the Life Immortal,
Since you with his Evil Mind the foul Spirit rules as
his servants,
By speech unto deeds thus false as his ruler rallies the
faithless.'

Here plain reference is made to the bad language used by the Evil Spirit in Hell, but this need not be an exclusive reference; the Evil Spirit was active upon earth, or in some spiritual scene prior to the earthly, and corresponding to that in which Satan is supposed by some to have fallen. The evil rulers of the moment are clearly apostrophised for this life as for the other.

And see also where the composer immediately joins on to this 32. 5, with its 'Weal and Immortality,' his 32. 6, where all the busy scene of an ecclesiastical polity suddenly flashes before us :—

'These in Thy kingdom I place, for *Asha* Thy truths I
establish.'

Surely the 'Kingdom' here was the field of his immediate exertions.

At 33. 5 we have a beautifully typical piece where the two ideas are again blended as this life prolonged with that on high :—

'I who invoke Thy Sraosha all-greatest, heedful to help us,
Gaining long life for myself in the Realm where the
Good Meaning ruleth,
And paths that are straight from their truth where Mazda
Ahura is dwelling.'

This smacks of Heaven, if any language can. Here the 'straight paths' are 'the very roads' where Ahura

dwells—hardly the literal streets of the Zoroastrian Zion ; and yet it is the saint who plants them. At 43. 5 they are there the ‘straight roads’ to the Kingdom pointed out by the prophet, rather than roads on High themselves ; while at 53. 2 they are again clearly the ‘*D(a)ena*,’ the Holy Lore, which showed the way. Here, also, we have the double reference, as in so many other places. Yet at the next verse we have ‘earth’ so realistically before us that some might regard the contrast as a bathos as deep as it is sudden—distressingly so. He actually calls on God *re* the crops—

‘An invoker unerring through Truth from the Best Spirit will I implore it,
From Him with that mind will I ask how our fields are best to be cultured,
These are the things that I seek from Thy sight and a share in Thy counsel’ (32, 5).

On second thoughts, however, we may say, ‘well suited too,’ like our own prayer ‘this day for daily bread,’—their prayer for food supply, like ours, recalls the one gigantic interest saving all ‘so as by fire’ from crime as from starvation,—but far more compactly so in those days when crop-failure meant instant bloody murder (of those more fortunate). Good food-raising was the first good act of the typical saint, and justly so. I regard this 33, 6 as especially precious ;—we too ask for rain, and thank for harvests. God might indeed here intervene, if anywhere ; yet see 33, 8, 9, soon following, where Heaven is the most in sight, the ideas pass beyond the earthly horizon, and in verse 9 they settle distinctly in Heaven. •

‘Obtain for me then the true rites that with good Mind I may fulfil them,
Your praiser’s Yasna, Lord, and your words, O Asha, for chanting ;
Your gift is Immortality and continuous (eternal?)
Weal your possession.

Then let them bear the spirit of Thy two Law-
promoting rulers
To Thy brilliant home, O Mazda, with wisdom, and
Thy Best Mind
For perfection's help unto those whose souls are
together bounden.'

So everywhere the acts of faith are progress ;—the advance is ever upward—' progress ' always as on every day of earth ; see above on Frashakart.

The most incisive Gāthic expressions occur at Y. 31. 20, 21, which are also doubly historical, as they chiefly represent the original of the incomparable Yasht 22 ; see also Y. 49. 11 :—

' But he who deceives the saint, for him *shall* at last *be*
destruction,
Long life in the darkness his lot—foul his food with
revilings loathsome ;—
This be your world (or ' your life '), faithless *men*, by
your deeds your own souls will bring it !

But Mazda Ahura will give both Weal and a Life
Immortal
With the fulness of His grace from Himself as the head
of Dominion,
And the Good Mind's power He'll send to His friend
in deed and in spirit.'

Here heavenly ' Immortality ' is closely defined in its contrast with Hell.* Notice ' long life ' ever again as ' eternal life,' linking up the two parts of the ' One.'

* In Yt. 22, in its once extant complete form, the souls of the evil meet in detail the exact contradictory opposite to what the soul of the saint experiences, but the passage has disappeared. We have, however, what must be a faithful translation of it in the Mainyō-i-khard, editor West, page 9. Here, again, as in the Avesta, the sole activity which forms the continuous oneness of the two lives is of the mind itself. The evil man's own soul meets him on his way to judgment, as the soul of the righteous met him.

In Y. 43. 3 we have: 'Then may Thy saint approach toward that which is the better than the good (the *summum bonum*), he who will show us the straight paths of spiritual profit of this life, the bodily and of the mental in those veritably real ('eternal'?) worlds where dwells Ahura, like Thee, noble and august, O Mazda Lord.' So also as to Y. 28. 2 (see above). Y. 43. 4, 5 goes on: 'Yea, I will regard Thee as mighty and likewise bountiful (others, less critically, 'holy'), O Ahura Mazda, . . . when Thy rewards to the faithless as to the righteous . . . come, when as rewarding deeds and words Thou didst (? 'shalt') establish evil for the evil and happy blessings for the good by Thy just discernment (or 'virtue') in the creation's final change (so, literally, in the 'last turning, change,' or better 'end'). In which *last* changing Thou shalt come and with Thy bounteous (others, 'holy') spirit and Thy sovereign-power, O Ahura Mazda, by deeds of which the settlements are prospered through Holiness (Asha), *for* Devotion (our Piety inspired by Ahura) is declaring the laws of Thy wisdom to these Thy settlements, *the laws* of that wisdom which no man deceives.'*

To proceed:—in Y. 45. 5 the composer says: 'Yea, I will declare that which the most bountiful one told me, that word which is the best to be heeded by mortals, and they who therein grant me obedient attention, on them come,' or 'they come to,' 'Weal and Immortality';—and that this immortality could not be the finite only we see from verse 5, where the souls (so literally) of the righteous are spoken of as 'desiring these blessings in (locative) the continuous (or more boldly, 'in the eternal') Immortality, which blessings are woes to the faithless'; and accordingly the Home of Song (or 'sublimity'), which is distinctly Heaven, is next mentioned (in verse 8).

While in Y. 46. 10 we see the souls actually proceed-

* See *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxxi. pp. 99-101. The wording is somewhat changed here; see the passage also necessarily cited elsewhere.

ing over the Judge's Bridge which reached from the Sacred Alborj (Mount Haraiti) toward Heaven—'Whoever, man or woman shall give to me those gifts of life which Thou has known as best, O Mazda, and as a blessing through Thy Righteous Order a Throne established with Thy Good Mind, *with these I shall go forth*.—Yea, with all those whom I shall (by example) incite (lit., 'accompany') forth to the Judge's Bridge shall I lead on, *while* (v. 11) the Karpan and the Kavi will join with *their evil* Kings to slay the lives of *holy* men by evil actions, *they* whom their own soul (so literally) and their own conscience (so) shall becry when they approach there where the Judge's Bridge *extends, and they shall fall*, and in the Lie's abode (that is 'in Hell') for ever (*yavōi vīspāi*) *shall* their habitations (or 'their bodies') be'; and he closes: 'He who from Holiness shall verily perform for me, for Zarathushtra, that which is most helpful according to my wish, on him shall they bestow reward beyond this world (*mīzhdem parāhūm*).'

Yes;—this Immortality with all its cognate elements pervades Avesta, bone and fibre. Yet,—as I have so often said, and as I cannot too urgently repeat,—it is not an Immortality of mere physical continuance which is our theme. Such 'Immortality' as that is well-nigh universal from Egypt down. It is the deathless One-ness of the interior mental identities of which Avesta speaks, and which is alone now worth our thought;—it is *here* that Avesta holds the record;—the very tissue of the sentences is interwoven with it in Gāthic lore.

And so we return to our first proposal; see above. The converted soul breathes no contempt for this immediate life, lost in long-distance dreams, however glorious;—this life was sacred, every hour of it, even with all its evil contacts. The saint of Gātha loved it well, if purified. As base is to statue, as fundament to pinnacle, so was this holy life in view of its other portion—a thought still finer if not so grandiose as that of the great 'Permanence' itself,

and far more touching. The very rewards of Heaven, as we have seen—in their close shape were to be constructed here at once in our now passing moments, for those rewards were to be ‘good thoughts, and words, and deeds’ of souls all rational—results immediately from them. Here once more as I have so often had to say—this system ‘led the world.’ Then think again of such a Future with its reflected light on this. Incisive Energy, Justice, Love, Authority, Zeal, are at once its present and its goal on high. How pervadingly this solemnises every minutest fraction of our time;—what we do here, whether it be good or ill, we shall do there. We are builders, not *for* eternity but *of* eternity. Such views hold all the motives in the Gātha, though later often covered up with puerilities;—they impelled the Gāthic saint.

NINTH LECTURE.

THE SCULPTURED TEXTS OF BEHISTŪN, PERSEPOLIS, AND
NAKSH I RUSTEM, COMPARED WITH THE MSS. OF AVESTA.*

ON the old Median boundary not far from the modern city of Kermanshah, a mountain called Behistūn, or Behistān, rises steep from the surrounding plain to the height of some seventeen hundred feet. In an inward division of it, and some three hundred feet from its base, in a wide cleft stand perhaps the most impressive inscriptions which have survived the ravages of time. The surface of the rock was polished for their reception, and where irregularities occur the defect has been replaced by slabs so deftly joined that the edges are scarcely visible. On a wide surface and in the ancient cuneiform character are cut with chisel the splendid records of Darius the Great, and of his successors.

Similar inscriptions of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes the Third are to be found on the ruins of Persepolis, Naksh i Rustem, Murghâb, Khorkor, and Susa, as also on Mount Alvand, near Hamadan, while the most important inscription which we have of Cyrus, and one of the most important of all, is written in Assyrian upon an open vase. Those upon the mountain rocks are written in a later dialect of the Zend-Avesta language, and, aside from a few difficulties here and there, they are very clear, and yield at

* Fragments of a Lecture delivered at the Indian Institute in the nineties, before an audience unusually distinguished. Also published in the *New World* of Boston, U.S.A., and, later, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October 1909, and having been also frequently later used as parts of Instructional Lectures.

once to study. In them we find expressions of religious fervour quite as marked as in the writings of any other nation. Every advantage is traced to the 'grace' or 'will' of Auramazda. Certain clan-gods are also mentioned, doubtless out of just respect to the religious susceptibilities of the various nationalities then included within the Empire under the sceptre of the authors. That this considerate recognition was not intended to impair the supremacy of Ahura Mazda is clear from the Avesta—where Ahura is copiously apostrophised as the 'Maker' of the very highest of all the non-Gāthic gods as of His own Bountiful Immortals. Monotheism in this sense is dominant,—[(though it is here in the inscription most expressed in the constantly repeated words: 'Who made this earth and yon Heaven, who made man . . .' which imply it.—Where is any sub-God thus spoken of?).]

Darius commanded his sculptors to chisel upon Persepolis as follows (see for this inscription Spiegel, p. 47, and Weissbach and Bang, p. 34, from whom, however, my versions differ somewhat):—

'The great *Auramazda*, who is the greatest* of the gods†, has made Darius King.—He has delivered the kingdom over to him—through the gracious will of *Auramazda* is Darius King. (Thus) saith Darius the King: this land of Persia—which *Auramazda* delivered to me, which is prosperous‡, rich in horses, well-populated§, through the grace of *Auramazda* and through mine||, Darius

* There can be but one "greatest," and but One who created all the others; see Avesta.

† These gods were inferior, like our archangels.

‡ Hardly merely 'good' or 'beautiful.'

§ Very Vedic and very Avestic expressions.

|| This naive expression sheds much light on the shade of meaning to be attached to the important word '*vashnā*.' *Vashnā* cannot mean here 'through the will of me, King Darius.' Darius had no intention of implying that he had exercised anything like a Sovereign decreeing 'will' in this instance. He means 'active beneficent will.' Perhaps 'gracious will' is better than 'grace.' The bare word 'will,' which some writers consider to be a marked improvement, is not here adequate.

the King's—fears no other (or 'no foe')—may *Auramazda* grant me aid together with the clan-gods;—may *Auramazda* protect this region from hostile hosts—from disastrous years,* from the (plotting) lie (political intrigue). May no (hostile) host approach this region—no disastrous years (of drought, famine, or pestilential blight)—no lie (that is to say, 'no sinister political agitation');—and this favour† I beseech of *Auramazda*—with the clan-gods.‡ (Thus) saith Darius the King: I am Darius, the great King, the King of kings, the King of these numerous provinces§, the son of Vishtāspa|| the Achæmenid.

'(Thus) saith Darius the King: Through the gracious will of *Auramazda* these lands, which I with intimidation dominated ¶ with this Persian host, feared before me (that is, they were politically intimidated);—and they paid me tribute (as showing my success in their submission).'

Darius wrote for *Behistūn* (cp. for texts, King and Thompson, pp. 70, 71, and W. and B., p. 28): 'What I have done, I have done in every particular through the gracious will of *Auramazda* and (all) other gods who exist.¶¶

'Therefore *Auramazda* brought me aid, with (all) the other gods who exist, because I was not hostile to Him, nor to the lands—because I was no false political intriguer (lit., 'no liar')—no despot—neither I nor my family; I ruled

* Bad seasons as to drought, pestilence, etc.

† *Yānam* in this sense is also a purely Avestic expression as well as Inscriptional: the Vedic *yāna* has an entirely different application.

‡ He would neither insult the various dissenting religions of his Empire, nor would he neglect the minor subdeities of his own. Again let us recall there can be *but one* "greatest."

§ Notice that the word *dahyāum* and *dahyunām* are used in a 'good' sense here in the inscription as in *Avesta*, whereas in Vedic *dāsyu* has an 'evil' sense,—border bitterness.

|| Hardly the *Vishtāspa* of the Gāthas, as some think. This person was, however, one of the *Satrapas* (*Khshatrapāvan*) of his son's Empire, and indeed in Parthia, eastward and northerly toward Bactria.

¶¶ A very Avestic and Vedic expression.

according to the rectitude * (of the law)—I favoured those who assisted my clans—in just return,—and those who were hostile I without any fail visited with meet punishment. (Thus) saith Darius the King : Thou who hereafter shalt be King—with a man who is a (political) intriguer—(a revolutioniser, lit., ‘a liar’)—or a positive rebel (?)—make no political compact (lit., ‘be no friend of his’)—punish him with good punishment† (if thou thus thinkest ‘my land shall go unscathed’).‡

‘(Thus) saith Darius the King : thou who hereafter shalt view this writing§ which I have written—and these sculptured reliefs; destroy them not—so long as thou livest; (?) . . . preserve them. (Thus) saith Darius the King : if thou viewest this writing and these sculptures, and dost not destroy them,—but preservest them for me,—so long as thy family shalt last,—then may *Auramazda* be thy friend,—and may thy family be numerous. Live long; and what thou doest may *Auramazda* prosper.’¶

And for his own future tomb at *Naksh i Rستم*, near *Persepolis*, he wrote : ‘A great God is *Auramazda*, who

* *Ārshtām* ; so K. and T. for the formerly supposed *ābishtām*. Notice the *r* of *arsh*, confirming my suggestion as to an *arsha* rather than *asha*.

† *Ahifrashtādiy* is no longer read. *Ufrashtādiy* is the word.

‡ From another place.

§ The word *dipi* may go back to a root = ‘to besmear.’ Notice that the writing of the original draft for the inscription upon the skins, or other material, was rather in the composer’s mind. He smeared, or ‘painted’ it, to be later cut. One would have rather thought that he would have used some word more in consonance with ‘stone-cutting.’

|| See *dargam jivā* at XVI. 75, p. 38, Sp.

¶ Notice the ‘proclaimed rewards’—unlike those in *Avesta*—‘all for this life’; so also in the pre-Exilic *Semitic* Scriptures. Notice what appears to be the very marked contrast between the tone of this appeal to temporal rewards and punishments, and those appeals to futurity to which we are so much accustomed in *Avesta*.—Was this accidental?—As *Veda* was also eschatological, with *Avesta*, we cannot suppose that Darius’s creed was undeveloped Vedism. We seem forced to the opinion that we have here a case of peculiar and particular religious opinion, either of an individual, or of a party, in the very centre of the Empire.

• made this earth and yon heaven,*—who made man—and amenity (civilisation) for men,—who made Darius King—the alone King of many,—the alone Commander of many.† I am Darius, the great King, the King of kings,‡ the King of the lands of all tribes, and the King of this great earth for afar,§ the son of Vitštāspa, the Achæmenid,—a Persian,—son of a Persian, Aryan, of Aryan race. Through the grace of *Auramazda* these are the lands which I captured beyond Persia . . . I conquered them . . . beyond Persia.—I brought them under my authority.—They brought me tribute.¶—What I said to them, that they did.—The law (which was promulgated by me) which was mine was maintained.—(Here follows a list of the provinces or sub-kingdoms.) . . . (Thus) saith Darius: As *Auramazda* viewed this earth . . . in war . . . (?) he delivered it over to me ¶—he made me (its) king—I am King. Through the gracious will of *Auramazda* I have settled this earth through my throne (or ‘through my government,’ or ‘under my throne’; others render ‘in place,’ ‘to rights,’—but see the same word ‘throne’ just under).

* ‘Yon heaven’ is precisely Avestic; *ava* is only obscurely Vedic.

† His authority was actually realised as a dominant fact; recall Avestic *āēva*, not Vedic.

‡ ‘King of kings’ must have been originally Aryan, and adopted from Persia by the Prophets. If Darius used it about 520 B.C., it must have been in vogue for some generations previously, and doubtless predated the Scriptural usages. In the Semitic Scriptures it rarely refers to a human potentate. The emphatic expressions are more Avestic than Vedic.

§ This ‘for afar’ (*duariapiy*) seems thrown in to modify the asserted claims to ‘universal’ sovereignty.

¶ Practical evidence of subjection.

¶ Recall the expressions attributed to Cyrus in Ezra i.: ‘All the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord the God of Heaven (*Deva*) given me.’ The terms in Ezra seem to be stereotyped (see them also repeated from Chronicles), and they may have arisen from the same source as the expressions upon the Inscriptions. Indeed, as I have suggested elsewhere, the frequent resemblance of some of these expressions in the Inscriptions to some of those in the Scriptural Edits goes not a little way towards establishing the genuineness of the latter.

What I said that was fulfilled, as was my wish.* If thus ' ,
 thou thinkest: "How many(?) are the lands which Darius
 the King governed,"—then look upon this sculpture which
 bears my throne,—that thou mayest know.—Then shall it
 be known to thee that the lance of the Persian hero has
 reached afar; then shalt thou know that the Persian hero
 has fought battles far from Persia. (Thus) saith Darius
 the King: What I have done, I have done all through
 the gracious will of *Auramazda*.—*Auramazda* gave me aid
 till I had completed this work.—May *Auramazda* protect
 me, and my clan, and this province against . . . hosts(?).
 For this I pray *Auramazda*,—this may *Auramazda* afford
 me:—O man, may what is the command of *Auramazda* be
 to thee acceptable,—let that not be obsolete (or repulsive)
 to thee.—Leave not the right way: †—Sin not.'

Such are the voices from the stone,—if I might be
 allowed so to express myself,—but besides these we have
 the book, preserved in its mysterious book-life from manu-
 script to manuscript, and from oral recital to recital;—
 generations of the priests who were its guardians followed
 one upon another and closely,—there was no break, nor
 was there need for dying men to recite these compositions
 to listening novices;—the venerated words, for the most
 part fixed in metre, were imbedded in the race-life of the
 tribes. Long before the old could die,—and while the
 young matured,—the middle-aged were there, the race-life
 of the priests was one abiding generation,—and in it the
 Avesta lived, lasting as the rock which itself yields slowly
 to the weather, immovable as the glaciers which stand
 while they advance. As time has worn the race, as the
 mountain streamlet has eaten off some letters, and *ās*, alas!
 the hammer of the vandal has in places also added to the
 injury, so time has worn the book;—but it lives on in

* Notice the repeated assertions as to the practical result of his
 administration—that is to say, as to its 'success.' They are by no means
 wasted words. *Gāthum* = 'throne.'

† Notice the very Gāthic expression, 'the right path.'

• noble fragments, the Bible of a remnant, small indeed in numbers, but, in some respects, perhaps the first of Asia.—We know its contents, and the Inscriptions seem to cite them: ‘A great God is *Auramazda*, who made this Earth and yon Heaven—who made man and provided civilisation (or ‘the amenities of life’) for him’;—so, as we have seen, reads Behistūn,—with constant iteration, like the rest;—and in Yasna I we have: ‘Inviting I announce, and I will complete my Yasna to Ahura Mazda, the radiant and the glorious, the greatest and the best,—who sends his joy-creating grace afar, who hath made us, and hath fashioned us,—who hath nourished and protected us;—who is the most bounteous * Spirit’ . . . The Inscriptions have the words ‘*Vashna Auramazdāhā*’ cut again and again upon their surface;—they mean ‘through the gracious will of *Auramazda*’ (see above);—and in Yasna XXXI, 15 we read of victories even more momentous than those of the great Organiser: ‘By Thy Sovereign power and grace may’st thou make life really progressive’ (till perfection shall have been gained);—and again: ‘Make every deed through grace progressive still,’ etc. through many a similar analogy. Notwithstanding a difference in tone between the hewn-out sentences and the paper codex, we have in both the same *gracious* God and the same fervent faith in Him.

* Or, with others, ‘the most holy.’

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TENTH CHAPTER.

A GENIAL EPISODE.

(From the Parsi of Bombay [Weekly Edition], 24th December 1911.)

THE DEBT OF PARSIS TO PROFESSOR MILLS.

PRESENTATION AT OXFORD.

(From their own Correspondent.)

ON Saturday morning a small but representative number of Parsis journeyed from Paddington to Oxford to pay tribute to the venerable Professor Mills for his inestimable services to the Zoroastrian faith, on behalf of the Parsis of Great Britain, and through them of the Indian Parsis generally. The movement originated with the late Mr. Nasarwanjee Cooper, to whose services in the publication and distribution of gems of the sacred writings of the Parsis hearty reference was made in the course of the proceedings. The deputation was headed by Mr. E. J. Khory, who, after a successful legal career in the Far East, now resides at Sidcup, Kent. He was accompanied by Mr. Homi D. Cama, Mr. J. Cursetji, Dr. D. R. Wadia, and Mr. B. B. Eranee, who as secretary of the movement arranged all the details. The visitors also included an English sympathiser.

The day had begun dull and cold, but by the time Oxford was reached the sun was breaking through the clouds and it had become a delightful day of late autumn. Mr. Khory made timely reference to this happy omen when he pointed out to Dr. Mills that Mithra had burst through the clouds as if to honour one who had helped Europe to understand the spiritual significance of the

- Zoroastrian reverence for the sun. Dr. Mills received his guests with scholarly charm, and many apologies that the state of his health would compel him to remain seated when he replied to the address.

THE PRESENTATION.

Mr. Khory said they had come there to convey to him on behalf of the subscribers their affectionate regard and esteem, and to express their gratitude for the invaluable services he had rendered to Zoroastrianism. By his translation of the Gāthas, which were written by Zoroaster himself, and by his other services, he had made his name a household word amongst all enlightened families of the faith, whether in Persia, their ancient home, or in India, and at the same time had brought their sacred writings to the knowledge of scholars and others in all quarters of the globe. The movement to do him honour was started by the late Mr. Nasarwanjee Cooper, and would have been carried further but for his untimely and sad death. Owing to this event the appeal for subscriptions had not been widely distributed; and the promoters of the project, in consultation with his sister, Dr. Miss Cooper, had decided that the testimonial should take a simple form and be confined to a comparatively few. But it could at least be said that that deputation was thoroughly representative of the Parsis. They had with them a scion of the great house of Cama, one of whose relatives, Mr. Muncherjee Hormusjee Cama, had been instrumental in securing a translation of the Vendidad. There was Dr. Wadia, a descendant of the great Wadia family, which was first in Bombay after the English took possession of that island, and some of whose ancestors were ship-builders for the East India Company. In Mr. Eranee, their secretary, they had one closely allied to the ancient fatherland. His grandfather went to Bombay from Persia only about fifty years ago, and he might be called a Persian Zoroastrian.

At this stage Mr. Eranee took off the wrappings from the massive silver casket containing the address, and handed that document, beautifully illuminated on vellum, to the Rev. Professor. Both the address and the casket were ornamented by drawings of Zoroaster and by well-known Parsi symbols. The inscription on the casket was as follows: 'Presented to the Rev. Lawrence Heyworth Mills, D.D., M.A., Professor of Zend Philology to the University of Oxford, by Parsi friends and admirers residing in Great Britain, as a mark of their profound appreciation of the invaluable services he has rendered by his ripe scholarship to Zend-Avestic research and to the fuller understanding of their sacred writings by the Zoroastrians themselves.—OXFORD, *November 1911.*'

THE ADDRESS.

Mr. Eranee read the address, which was signed by each member of the deputation. It was as follows:—

TO THE

REV. LAWRENCE HEYWORTH MILLS, D.D.,
HON. M.A.,

Professor of Zend Philology, Oxford University, Oxford.

REVEREND SIR,—In common with our Zoroastrian brethren in the Indian Empire and Persia, as well as those scattered in other countries both of the East and the West, we, as Parsis, are deeply conscious of the profound debt of the whole Zoroastrian community to you for the long years of ripe and fruitful scholarship you have devoted to the study, translation, and exposition of our ancient sacred writings. You took up the subject a generation ago, and more than a quarter of a century has elapsed since you came to Oxford from Germany on the invitation of the eminent editor of the Sacred Books of

- the East Series, Professor Max Müller. In Germany you had been completing your translation of the XXXIst volume of the Sacred Books at the pressing united request of Professors Max Müller and James Darmesteter. From that time forward you have devoted yourself with an untiring zeal, which age does not quench, to this important branch of Oriental study, and for many years you have been the greatest living authority thereon.

This is not the occasion to set forth in detail your contributions to the subject, such as your great Dictionary of the Gāthic language of the Zend-Avesta; the continuation and completion of your work upon the Gāthas; your comprehensive Yasna of the Avesta; your work on Zoroaster; Philo the Achaememids and Israel; your comparisons of ancient Israelitic literature with the Avesta; your editorship and translation of the Pahlavi Commentaries, together with your translations of Avesta into Sanskrit. Not only have your labours been of the highest value in opening out to European scholarship the rich mines of Zoroastrian literature, they have done much to stimulate a more enlightened understanding of the teachings of our ancient faith by its followers. Although the great majority of Parsis in India are familiar with the English language, the need for bringing your researches within the knowledge of the less-educated members of the community has been recognised by the translation of several of your works into Gujerati.

Your interest in our literature has been accompanied by a kindly and hospitable solicitude for the welfare of members of the community, particularly young students sojourning here.

- The debt of the Parsi race to you is beyond estimate, and it is by way of indicating our recognition thereof that we ask leave to present this address. It is accompanied by the prayer that you may long be spared for the great service you are still rendering, at the age of seventy-five, and by feelings of affectionate gratitude that you have done

so much to make possible the realisation of your own words, that 'the Zend Avesta should be revered and studied by all who value the records of the human race,' since 'Zarathustrianism has had an influence of very positive power in determining the gravest results.'

We are, dear Professor Mills, on behalf of the subscribers,

H. D. CAMA,
E. J. KHORY,
D. R. WADIA,
B. B. ERANEE,
J. CURSETJI.

LONDON, 1911.

Professor Mills, in reply, said—

'GENTLEMEN,—I am deeply touched at this token of affection in its beautiful casket. Though I feel that the expressions made use of go far beyond my deserts, they do not surpass my good intentions. I have done my best since 1883, and I may say since 1881, to exhaustively expound the lore of your forefathers. I will greatly treasure your gift, and my children will value it after me. Should a little more time be spared me I will have finished the Dictionary of the Gāthic Language, which will at least complete the first stage of my endeavours—(when I think how much there is remaining to be done I could wish that I was sixty instead of seventy-five). On greeting you I sadly miss our late endeared friend, Mr. N. M. Cooper, who did so much to encourage the cultivation of your holy faith. Never have I met a Zoroastrian so practically devoted. I cannot at this time forget your late revered Dastur Jamaspji Jamasp Asa, nor the gift of his precious manuscripts of the Yasna to the University, which enabled me to do work which I could not otherwise have accomplished, and which afforded the University the opportunity to reproduce one of them in an unsurpassed manner,

- I would also express my gratitude to the son of that endeared High Priest, Kai Khoshru Dastur Jamasp Asa, for sending another valuable manuscript of the Yasna for my use, to be presented to the Bodleian Library when I shall have finished with it. The late Dastur also presented me with a valuable manuscript of the Vendīdād, which I hope ultimately to have deposited in the Bodleian. I cannot also forget the great kindness of the father of Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, who loaned his most valuable manuscript of the Yasna to me, with permission to have it photographed at the University Press. So long as strength remains to me I will continue my work, being especially interested at the present time in translating the Gāthas into their twin-sister speech, the Vedic-Sanskrit. Once more expressing my gratitude.'

After the formal presentation had closed, some time was spent in conversation with the venerable Professor, and then the deputation took leave of him to return to London.

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ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

A CHAPTER IN AVESTA'S HISTORY.

(*To the Editor of the Parsi of Bombay.*)

SIR,—Thanking you for your kind remarks in your late issues of 4th December and of 24th December 1911,* it is time that I should let Parsis know something of the other chief serious items of good fortune through which by the Divine Power I have been somewhat astonishingly led. They group themselves about some rather extraordinary particulars in the line of co-operative appreciation from some of the leading men of the period,—they, these sympathetic fellow-efforts, being such as have rarely crowned the labours of any Oriental scholar. And here I am not merely moved by egoistic susceptibilities;—Science itself has been seriously at stake. And this indeed from some reasons which it would be well, if possible, to ignore did they not persistently reappear republished in a stereotyped edition,—and that, too, in a work otherwise of great merit,—and saddest of all to say by an author who has elsewhere done much service in the field of Oriental studies. The facts centre about the following notorious, if painful, circumstance :—the miscalled critique upon Zend Philology has long been a chamber of mean horrors which have excited the *disgust and ridicule of Germany*. This originated in one of the most regrettable episodes in literary history, the effective evil cause at work being as usual the universal ‘brute jealousies.’ The prize in sight was great indeed :—Dominant influence upon Avesta is, or should be,

* See also the issues of March 31st and of April 7th, 1912.

the very acropolis of Aryan scholarship including Veda upon the one side and Persian upon the other, with a vital bearing upon our Semitic religions unapproached by any other non-Semitic subject ;—and such authority is, if possible, wrested from its possessor by every low device conceivable.

To explain a little further :—There are apparently two distinct modes of procedure in all such exegesis ;—one of them is to guess shrewdly after a hurried glance, trusting to hit upon valuable suggestions whether they may be fully correct or not,—a fashion by no means so lightly to be esteemed as one might think—and as a provisional part of our progress by all means to be recommended ;—but it is too apt to be applied not ‘on the way’ or provisionally, but as a final result to startle attention. The other mode is to exhaustively exploit the entire subject before hazarding conclusive conjectures. The snap-shot guesser has naturally more time than the toiling reconstructor, and a talented bold writer often brings out many brilliant points of permanent value, but his translations as a whole are apt to bristle with the absurd. This last, however, Germany used not so much to mind, ‘*macht nichts,—es hilft.*’ * The true method lies of course between the two. One of the dashing sort had done some interesting work—incisive here and there in new points—but choked with chaotic views in its general results. These later drew on him the sober critique of another, as was only natural. He, the first mentioned, answered with a smothered fury which opened the disgraceful strife, or onslaught rather, for the victims seldom answered. He ‘was compelled,’ so he, this first-mentioned writer, feared, ‘to take an unfavourable view of the other’s scholarship’ (in general), and attacked with persistent ferocity his every view. Spiegel’s scholarship !—for he was the person meant,—scholarship !—the one

* On such more familiar subjects as the Veda it was understood that positive assertion was used for shortness merely, whereas Avesta had been till then too much unbroken ground and too incisively important for us to put shrewd guessing in our final reports bereft of all sense of probability.

immense distinction conceded him by the most bitterly formidable critic that ever drew a pen. 'He surpasses us all in learning,' said the Titanic Roth, first vedist of all Germany, creator of the other;—one of the most important vindications ever made.* 'Learning'!—he stood at the very head of Avesta, and I believe also of Persian scholarship, before this infamy. A few younglings, gloating over an insult to a leading master, with sycophantic adulation re-echoed the mean slur in varied words.† Then Justi, Spiegel's co-worker, a little too assiduously close perhaps,‡ but all from generous feeling,—he, for that sole reason, was to be the next,—Justi, who has done more practically for Avesta than all of us together,—who first laid out in detail all Avesta grammar followed almost to the letter by later writers with antiquations emended,—Justi, whose comparative philology is still a mine for all who read it,—he was,—so the aggressor feared,—a 'young and ambitious' scholar who had entered upon his high task '*with too little study*'§! (this from a man whose chief work seems bereft of all knowledge of the Pahlavi||). The same or like futile underlings took up the cry raised in the case of Spiegel—all 'praise God' now dead, gone, or

* Spiegel's supposed deficiency lay solely in a lack of what we might 'dialectically' call 'snap'—this largely owing to his too genial disposition.

† Those are all now long since dead and gone to 'their own place,' I believe.

‡ Justi, most properly regarding Spiegel's translation as a good first attempt by an author thoroughly prepared, fixed his attention effectively upon the grammar, etymology, and word-structure. His work has been the source of all such subsequent attempts. Mere time itself failed Justi for much independent suggestion upon the translation—though his works abound with the keenest new discriminations.

§ His own partner told me personally that this was all from 'jealously,' that he, the aggressor, had 'intended to write a Dictionary himself.' Here he had not even received such provocation as Spiegel had innocently offered.

|| He actually seems at times at least not to be aware that Neryosang was translating from the Pahlavi;—the tone of his censure rings that way, while he seldom even *alludes* to the Pahlavi;—later he became a high and epoch-making authority upon its structure.

converted. I am speaking here strictly of the past, let it be understood ;—yet these all, too sad to say, ‘being dead still speak’ in the persistent stereotyped Edition, as said ;—though, Parsis should understand, there were and are but a merest handful of these people, not three persons on all ‘the continent’ being conceded anything which approaches leading ‘authority,’ while their satellites were and are hardly half-a-dozen. The great dictator, Roth, came once more to the rescue, ‘*musterhaft zweckmässig eingerichtetes Handbuch*’—‘a model of arrangement, a most well-adapted handbook,’—but so far as suffering was concerned, in vain ;—the pack took up the hideous lying as before ;—two valued lives were embittered. This was the effect, with many outside readers utterly misled. Do Parsis naturally think these matters mere personal items of little moment ?—They affect a mighty theme ;—human hope beats low for human nature.* Science in general was involved—and this at every step. Personalities are entities after all, and those who have done indispensable work are forces par-eminece in our keeping ;—to see these consumed would be as false as to see their very codices burnt up. Spiegel and Justi were fundamental. They survived in spite of all, in the literary sense. Spiegel was knighted and held the chair at meetings ;—Darmesteter used him copiously, followed him often, respected him always ; and he died honoured everywhere. Justi was made professor ;—but neither one, nor the other ever personally recovered from the effects ;—melancholia seized them, and the stain on human honour rests. And *this* was the field upon which I was about to enter—in 1881–83. Do Parsis think I lower dignity by these remarks ? Perhaps I do.—‘Position’ I am supposed to have—not a bad thing it is in its way, but for the strut and pomp of it I have no time. Moreover, let it not be forgotten, I am writing of the date before I had even circulated my first tentative edition—and this is history’

* Surely a Good God never permitted this ;—it was the work of the Evil Being.

which bears upon the present. 'What have you to fear?' said a noble friend, 'with your new edition of Avesta, Pahlavi, Sanskrit;—It is what is new alone which advances science';—These things are epoch-making;—so he implied. Little did he know—held back by kindly feeling;—It is what is good and 'brilliant' which alone brings on the little pack. Discoveries!—the very hint of them strikes rivals cataleptic;—unless you can control the papers with a foul clique behind you, discoveries are *fatal*. The more striking they are, the worse. 'Printed in scarlet ink'—they would hardly say that of me, but things next to it. Darmesteter himself first warned me:—'criticism' he implied, 'there is no criticism.' 'Success will be your ruin.' 'You will sacrifice yourself.' 'Criticism,' implied a leading German in the very '*hot*' of it—'there is no criticism';—'between ——' naming a great German University 'and ——' naming another, there is a *furchtbare eifersucht*—'fearful jealousy';—a book written in one is murderously condemned by some writer in the other, *bloß weil, merely because* the Author is in that other. 'Criticism!' said another;—'there is no criticism.' A book is highly praised in B. and fiercely condemned in L. 'One page is often not so neatly done,' so he continued;—the 'critic' (!) seizes upon that and condemns the whole. [(This actually occurred in the case of the great Petersburg Dictionary, and from the very person above alluded to. He found one word mistaken—so I heard from good authority—and wanted to condemn the whole—but he seems to have retracted.)] 'Criticism—there is no criticism'—implied a well-known writer for the Parsi. 'It is all egoism.' This is all of the past—again let me say—I allude to no man now living—but they may have had successors, though all told there are not five of them.

[(What Darmesteter really meant; see above,—was the filching of new matter under the instigation of a rival. The thieving 'tool' seizes a new 'edition,' makes a few supposed improvements and then with turgid pomp reviles

the source of his existence.*)] And this was the field which I was about to enter,—What could I not expect !

‘Provocation’ ! I was about to give,—enough of it ; —Not only were my Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian new, fresh, and indispensable ; see above,—I had, beside this, dared to use three faculties, judgment, conscience, and humanity, each little suited to the issues. Above all I faced the Gāthic *prima facie*—where it still lingered sane,—this is yet my chief crime. [(‘He has not accepted our improvements’ †—so they would surely say ;—yet I was often doing just that very same. All the chief ones I was actually accepting as alternatives ;—so a great Sanskritist advised me—this in ’81, though they, those views, had been made openly without the alphabet of Pahlavi ‡ ; yet this was not the only reason why I was putting them in my alternative.)]—I had dared to mark the abysmal faults of Pahlavi, Persian, and Sanskrit upon the one side and their splendid hits upon the other ;—I had dared in fact the *via media*—now followed close by all—as well as *prima facie*. I was even citing all my opposition modern as well as ancient. In fact I was not only preparing a first translation ever made with exhaustive treatment of three commentaries but also a translation with which I felt all sane writers would in the main agree, as near as one translator should reasonably agree with another—this was, as I fully felt, the acme of audacity. Not even that sufficed me ! I was working upon the fullest and the closest commentary yet attempted,

* Awful perfidy.

† As they were all the work of a great master, filched for the most part from him and made without the Pahlavi.

‡ I regarded, and still regard, all translations made without mastery of materials as being merely provisional and so as of subordinate scientific value when regarded as work completed, this, as of course ;—and so the authors must desire to be understood, but they did not hold that tone in their immediate productions. From this reason I was giving all the renderings, ancient and modern—with my own differing or agreeing, yet very near indeed those now prevailing.

with Dictionary promised! [(That I had used a close Latin was not so much my offence;—Haug had used Latin, Rawlinson had used Latin,—Latin is verbatim's only vehicle,—but I had used it copiously, and copious Latin would alone bring on the petifogging group.)]—Infatuation still held me;—I was preparing my free metrical.—Haug had used free German;—Roth had used free metrical upon Vedic; Grassmann had used free metrical—to illustrate the metrical was essential;—but mine was a first attempt—and I was putting all together, verbatims, free metricals,—the three expository texts, Commentary, Dictionary! What had I to expect? *—The very sight and bulk of such a book with its twelve hundred pages would bring the frenzy on—the cliques would stagger to their pens. '*Es imponirt*,' said a great friend. Well did I know what that meant—'imposing' to sane honour, a blazing torch to thieving combinations. The splendid theme itself somewhat sustained me †;—tough sinews wrapped me firm. I fear I love a battle,—contempt my only weapon. What could I expect? Herder even wrote against Kant.

What happened?—always 'the unexpected.' Suddenly interrupted by Roth's desire to have the book as in so far tentatively printed, I could not refuse;—[he later wrote for the fuller edition as *sehr erwünscht* (very gratefully desired. He had given me gratuitously double and private lectures.)]—Having put the tentative book into the hands of this endeared if somewhat formidable critic (he promised me a 'kind word,' and a 'kind word' from him would ward off sneak butchery), I denied it to none. ‡ Among others

* One acquaintance personally touched upon this point. 'Ah! you have done too much.' He wished to let me down gently. I did not fully know what he meant, nor do I now.

† Where in human thought were there such sublimities? See my depicments elsewhere.

‡ I am not at all ashamed to mention these particulars:—recall what my predecessors had suffered in actual loss of health:—recollect that I was to face a combination utterly bereft of sanity in honour who had all power to retard me.

Darmesteter received it. I turned to my never-ending toil. In Hanover, where I was residing, giving my children the very great advantages of German education, in November 1883, I heard from him, Darmesteter:—he urgently requested me to take his place on the *Sacred Books of the East*!* It was certainly one of the most remarkable letters ever written, and at that time was crucial in its importance to me. He, Darmesteter, the most distinguished literary man in France after, with, or before Oppert, urged me, a person who had only tentatively printed,—in Max Müller's name and immediately writing at his request,—the last, by all means also the most distinguished non-resident literary German,—the two inviting me on behalf of the University Press of Oxford to take Professor Darmesteter's place on the *Sacred Books of the East*, the most prominent series which has ever appeared, with Georg Bühler at its head,—and upon one of the most 'important' volumes of it,—and this 'in the hope of a favourable answer.'—I was to take the *Yasna* on account of the *Gāthas*, perhaps the very most vitally essential religious subject in the whole XLIX volumes and certainly the most difficult. Max Müller was kind enough to explain that I 'was (then) considered the best authority on the true interpretation of the ancient 'Gāthas'; see the *Athenæum*, April 12, 1884.† I was to use my 'free metrical as modified by my verbatim.'—Here was something a little different from what my martyred predecessors had met. Touched and encouraged I turned to that new work, and published in 1887. Again I waited somewhat anxiously; see above.—Some would be surely nettled, as I had felt forced to apologise for knowing the Pahlavi alphabet and using a free metrical for *Yasna IX*.

* See at the end some pleasing expressions with reference to it.

† His, Darmesteter's, studies had been mostly upon the *Vendidad*, and he 'shrank' for the moment, as he later printed, from the 'enigma' of the *Gāthas*, afterwards writing fully and in a most valuable manner upon them.

I waited. Darmesteter soon wrote that it was 'already cited and appreciated by all the specialists'; Max Müller added that it had been 'favourably' received;—Spiegel reviewed it respectfully in the Berlin *Literatur Zeitung*, 'Ansichten wol erwagen';—it had been subventioned by Government with the rest of the *S.B.E.*—was translated into Gujarati so far as the completed Gāthas—mentioned in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.—'The best translations are those of Darmesteter and Mills,' so Dr. Geldner. Here was again something a little different from the 'expected';—see at the end a most touching letter from Mr. Gladstone.

But my more mighty grip was yet to come. Mendacity would gather for its spring, and mendacity alone was what I feared* (the hard lying shown above). I finished the Gāthas and published Parts I. and III., and again I trimmed all taut for the encounter. One morning I got a Review by post;—it was the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* of May 13, 1893, from Justi.—Would he take vengeance for his own great suffering—excuse the base thought—I never had it.—I opened and I read: 'das ergebniss einer erstaunlicher Arbeit sehr mannigfaltiger Art. Unser verständniss der Gāthas mächtig gefordert,' and later in the *Preussisches Jahrbuch*—'insbesondere von Mills der diese schwierigen Gedichte in grundlichster Weise behandelt hat.' 'The result of an astonishing labour; our understanding of the Gāthas greatly furthered'—'Especially of Mills, who has treated these difficult poems in the most exhaustive manner.' Noble words of vast influence against the forefelt flood of lying. And then Darmesteter—would he be piqued at the sight of the pages?—The *Revue Critique* arrived—Septembre 1893,—'tous ceux qui s'occupent des Gāthas

* Bergaigne had refused authority even to Roth himself, but Bergaigne was a gentleman;—he would not have denied the herculean suggestiveness of the great German: 'thought-stirring effort,' even when not accepted, is highly prized.

rendront hommage a l'immense labeur scientifique de M. Mills . . . son livre reste un instrument indispensable pour l'etude,' etc., etc. I was invited to contribute to Roth's *Festgruss*, and my exceptional piece in the Sanskrit language was accepted (with Roth's later thanks). In '94 I issued the completed Gāthas, pages 622 + xxx. Pischel, first Sanskritist of Germany (after Böhlingk)—once more declared, *Zeitschrift D.M.G.*, 1896: 'alles was für die erklärang der Gāthas nothwendig ist . . . immer wird es die Grundlage bilden auf der sich yede weitere Forschung aufbauen muss . . . einen hervorragenden Dienst.'—'Everything which is necessary to the explanation of the Gāthas'; 'ever will it remain the basis upon which every future work will be built'; 'an eminent service.' So Dr. E. W. West followed in *J.R.A.S.*, 1896. So Professor Wilhelm: 'This work affords to every Avesta scholar complete materials for the study of the Gāthas'—*Bombay Iranian Catalogue*, 1901. So several eminent scholars in private correspondence.* His Lordship the Secretary of State for India in Council had subventioned me again under Rawlinson's influence,—The Trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund followed his Lordship's lead. Never before had such a book of such dimensions met such success—which happily continues. Dr. L. H. Gray, one of the most gifted men living, wrote of it so late as 1906: 'beyond question our leading authority now living on the Gāthas.'

After such a full reception the storm of concentrated venom must certainly have had its vent at least in small ejections. How do I know this,—for I have never read a word. So long ago as 1897 at the Reception in Paris where the Congress of Orientalists was sitting, an eminent German, whose personal acquaintance I had not yet made, said as he passed me, 'All the world knows of your great productions.' From that I understood that the units had begun under instigation—while Gray has later expressed

* 'A deepening of method,' etc.

his indignation. [(Probably my incisive discoveries had touched them rather closely ;—for I have advanced further reconstructions of the Avesta alphabet from its original the Avesta-pahlavi, no one anywhere having as yet suspected the almost necessary survival of original Pahlavi signs in the full Avesta forms.*)] And it is *such things* to which some parties wish to call my attention. Suppose I should catch one of these gentlemen before a court academical.—‘So you have looked askance at my work—have you—a book which has been pronounced epoch-making by the first men of the day ;—have you ever read it?’—‘I have glanced over your free metrical and your free Y. IX. in *S.B.E.*’—‘Have you ever read my verbatims in their Latin form (which has been liked)?’ see above.—‘I have glanced over them.’—‘Do you think hasty ‘glancing’ is enough in the case of a work so valued?’; see above.—No answer. ‘Did you ever even open the covers of my English verbatims and free metricals of 1900?’—‘No.’—‘Did you ever study my commentary, the fullest of the kind yet published?’—‘I have read parts of it.’—‘Do you deny that my verbatims are nearly identical with those which you mostly follow—as nearly so as could be at all expected, and more closely far than any two writers upon Veda approach each other?’ †—No answer ;—‘and that I give in alternative, to a large extent, the very especial views you personally adopt, so half accepting them.’—No answer.—‘Did you not know that the authors who suggested these so-called improvements openly stated at times that they had no knowledge of Pahlavi?’—‘No, I did not know.’—‘As to my ‘system’—the *via media*—are you not aware that no writer anywhere

* I have, for instance, recently shown that the senseless *-ēu(sh)* of a gen. sg. is really ($\bar{e} + u = o$, an old way of spelling ‘o’) *-ēs/sh* = Skt. *-os* ; $a + u = o$;—so *-ōish* ($a + i = e$) is really *-esh* = Skt. *-es*, etc. ;—*-ahē* is of course non-existent ; the word or termination is *-ahya*. This all would be first denied, then later filched under instigation, as so usual.

† Hubschmann, judging from his sane translations, would have rendered much of the Gāthas in harmony with my views.

any longer ventures to proceed upon any other,—all now studying the Pahlavi, Pers., and Skt., yet seeing their imperfections on the one side, with their wonderful hints upon the other?—‘That is so.’—‘Have you ever fully mastered my Pahlavi texts and translations?’—‘I have read the translations, and to some extent the texts.’—‘Are you not aware at least that my Avesta translations are, or were, the first yet made after exhaustive treatment of the Pahlavi, Persian, and Sanskrit?’—and that I profess, so far as possible, to give the main antagonistic views of my opposers ancient and modern?—Vague answer.—And yet, though you have never read my book, you venture to look askance upon its very extensive and full work!—No answer.—Then WHAT* do you suppose yourself to be?—How do I know that such would be the answers?—know it!—One of them came to me—of the most venomous. Inquiring what he knew of the Pahlavi?—He admitted ‘nothing of it.’—He said it *would* ‘*Extend the Study too Far*’! Needless to examine such a man as to his opinions. His master, so he said, an instigator, declared himself ‘unable to teach the Pahlavi’;—so another of the pupils—both in my presence.

Never, in a word, has a book of such extended scope been at all attempted†, and never, as I add with still astonished sensibility, has such a book been at all so well received, *i.e.* never without a clique controlling periodicals. That its edition is all sold, some copies at three times the first stated value, is not so serious. Subvention to a new edition has been offered by Government, though this third subvention has not been as yet claimed;—if time be spared it will be.

* This is the kind of creature that sometimes ventures to talk about a ‘scientific’ procedure.

† I may mention just here as it occurs, that the eminent gentleman who freely asserted that he had worked ‘without any experience’ at all with the Pahlavi—seemed on that account with some of his pupils to be justly proud of his grandiose suggestions as being especially ‘original,’ but at last he verged upon being convinced. The ‘pointed hint’ he said approvingly—‘the pointed hint,’ alluding to the Pahlavi, Persian, and Sanskrit is effective—as giving the ‘general indications.’

Annoyances!—yes—I have had some of them, if Parsis wish to hear them. To receive a valuable book with thanks alone implies fair favourable treatment;—but what do my readers think of a man who will ask for a still unpublished work, full of well-weighed fresh materials ‘indispensable to the study,’ gain ‘great service’ from it, write flatteringly in return,—and then surreptitiously oppose it.* Some got copies from the British Government and tried to sell them, knowing that each copy of such a book is important for expenses. Another, 18th November 1892, thought my book which he received *gratis*, ‘*umfasst in der that das gesamte Rüstzeug zum studium dieser so unendlich schwierigen Texte*’ . . . ‘embraces in fact the complete outfit for the study of these so infinitely difficult texts’;—yet he edited a defective description from the first-mentioned person. Another actually asked me with emphasis to recommend him to a professorship, the most intimate conceivable of all possible requests, though I have such now and again,—‘it would have great weight,’ so he thought;—and later cast an imbecility! etc., etc.†

So I return to my first point—devout gratitude to ‘the God of Heaven.’

Escaping the worse than murderous fate of abler men, I have been spared to expound the most important lore of all Aryan antiquity,—one not only vitally identical with Vedic interests, but which has told immensely upon the history of Our Own Religion with its boundless connections;—and one which must shortly form an integral part in all serious exegetical Biblical studies.

* One of these gentlemen wrote me to decipher a passage in Pahlavi of some eighty words, not, let us hope, that he was totally ignorant of the meaning of every individual one of all the Pahlavi characters. This would have been a penal offence, as he was receiving a stipend from a respectable university.

† How—so one of my distinguished correspondents implies—can such culprits be brought to justice?—‘Through their own insignificance’—is my only answer;—fraud, as is well known, universally combines against exhaustive, successful labour.

VARIOUS NOTICES, REMARKS, AND LETTERS.

From the *London Athenæum* of 12th April 1884.—‘Mr. Mills is considered at present the best authority on the true interpretation of the ancient Gāthas’ (so Professor Max Müller, *re* the first distributed edition, full publication having been interrupted by the engagement to translate the thirty-first volume of the *Sacred Books of the East* for the University Press, Nov. 1883).

From an eminent person, the instructor of all German sanskritists, *re* the first distributed edition of the Gāthas, 1881.—‘L. H. M: Ich habe ihr werk bis Seite 312, alles inzwischen gedruckte, also Bogen 40 und folgende wird mir sehr erwünscht sein.—Thr. R——R——. 17th Feb. 1884.’

From a much-known writer, 1st February 1884, *re* the distributed edition of the Gāthas.—‘Ich habe mit vergnügen gehört dass der Erste Band ihres Grossen Werkes fertig ist, und bin sehr gespannt darauf: Wie kann man sich dasselbe verschaffen . . .’ 5th March 1884.—‘Besten Dank für Ihr werthvolles Buch, von dem ich mir, wie allen die sich mit den Gāthās beschäftigen, sehr viel Nutzen verspreche . . .’ Yet see p. 164.

Deutsche Literatur Zeitung, 24th September 1887, of *S.B.E.* xxxi.—‘. . . Ansichten wol erwogen.’ (Professor Spiegel.)

From PROFESSOR DR. EUGEN WILHELM of Jena, April 1888 (sent for publication).—‘It is no longer doubted that we have in the Avesta essentially the religion which prevailed in Persia when Cyrus came into contact with the Jews. The Gāthas form the most difficult part of the Avesta, as well as the oldest and most important. And this circumstance induced Dr. Mills, during a period of ten (then nearer sixteen) years, to devote unusual attention to them . . . The undersigned, who has become acquainted with particulār sections of this work, and has examined

them from every point of view, knows from personal observation with what extraordinary thoroughness and conscientiousness (*mit welcher ausserordentlichen Gründlichkeit und Gewissenhaftigkeit*) Dr. Mills has proceeded in its composition.'

Copy of an autograph letter from the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Rev. Dr. L. H. Mills, first printed by advice, and for circulation among friends :—

'HAWARDEN, 6th October 1891.

'MY DEAR SIR,—You have done me very great honour by sending me your translation from the Zend Avesta, and I have profited greatly this morning by reading in your Preface and Introduction. Though I am only in the outer court of the temple of Philology, I am sensible of the extraordinary interest attaching to the Zoroastrian religion, and grateful to those who, like you, give us such aid in understanding it.

'I was led to mention it, and refer to some authorities for the purpose of throwing light upon the question whether the belief in a future life gained or lost ground with the lapse of time. Only in the case of Greece have I any knowledge of the *quellen*, and there I think that both this doctrine, and religion generally as an influence, lost greatly between the Homeric and the Classical ages. Some small presumptions appeared to exist on behalf of the belief that in Persia also [in regard to] the future life, and the retribution with which it was there combined, there was a similar downward process.

'I hope I have not stated this too boldly, or used any arts to disguise my ignorance.

'Accept my best thanks for your kindness. Perhaps if I am able again to visit Oxford you will allow me to profit by your conversation, and meantime let me remain, faithfully yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.'

[First reprinted for Distribution among Friends.]

SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, the author of *The Light of Asia*, authorised his name to appear as a writer of the following notice in the London *Daily Telegraph*. It appeared in the issue of 10th August 1894. Sir Edwin was well acquainted with the history of Zoroastrian science, and has exerted no little influence upon it.

‘A book of vast learning and high archæological value, lately issued, has been much too silently passed over by scholars and critics.* It is that monumental work by Dr. Lawrence Mills of Oxford, entitled *A Study of the Five Zarathushtrian (Zoroastrian) Gāthas, with Texts and Translations*. Brought out with the assistance of the Indian Secretary of State, the volume is indispensable to students of Zend literature and theology. In 1876 Dr. Mills turned his attention to the great subject of his tome. He first translates the Gāthic texts into Sanskrit †, word for word; and next, in order to be sure of significations, the erudite doctor sets himself to examine the Pahlavi Commentaries, collating all the known manuscripts and deciphering their at times almost inscrutable characters. Side by side with these he also translates and edits the Parsi-persian manuscripts. He next re-edits the

* The London *Athenæum*, as cited above.

The *New York Nation* of 12th July 1888 says (of the old edition): ‘A boon to all scholars.’

The *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, as cited above.

The *Revue Critique* of Paris, as cited above.

The *New York Nation* of 21st June 1894 says: ‘Scholars will no longer have an excuse for neglecting the Pahlavi Commentaries.’

The *Times of India* of 22nd September 1894 says: ‘The great work now before us, which may be truly called monumental.’

† Translations into Sanskrit are (as Dr. M. thinks) a *sine qua non* to a complete treatment. Dr. Mills’ translation of Yasna XXVIII. into Sanskrit has the highest possible sanction, as it appears in the *Festgruss*, or volume of short pieces, dedicated by a select number of German Sanskritists to the eminent Professor R. von Roth, first Vedist of Germany, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his doctorate.

Sanskrit Commentary of Neryosangh, and after accumulating all that wealth of material, he finally produces what may be called the finished flower of this massive version. . . . Dr. Mills has given to the world of learning the superb and scholarly volume, which is an honour to the University of Oxford, while it establishes the author as standing as the head of Zoroastrian expositors. This is not the place in which to examine minutely the difficult pages of such a work; but it would not be decorous to allow it to appear without the salutation due from all Orientalists to the completion of so noble a toil in the fields of Eastern classics.'

APPENDIX.

TWELFTH LECTURE.

GOD HYPOTHETICALLY CONTEMPLATED AS MORE THAN PERSONAL—THAT IS TO SAY, AS ALMIGHTY, UNLIMITED ;
OUR IDEAS OF HIM DEFINED BY DIFFERENTIATION.*

UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES.

‘ In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.’

My object in reproducing these Lectures, now some five years old, is to heighten, purify, and increase our adoring love of the One merciful, superpersonal, unlimited God,—and to do so we must disentangle some dangerous misconceptions with regard to Him. We do this by differentiation—that is to say, we must make clear what our idea of Him is by fixing firmly in our convictions what ‘our idea’ of Him is not. And first of all we must dispel an illusion into which we have been most naturally led, and which indeed seems to be a tendency which we can sometimes hardly resist when we allow ourselves to express our passionate devotion,—it is the impression that our God is merely a person in the lower, genial acceptation of the term, so misinterpreting the language of our leading prayer, which has become so sacrosanct in every syllable. But the time has surely come when we can with safety make known some vital distinctions just here.

(1) To be a person in the words of ordinary precision is to be a ‘subject’ which can be an object to

* This Lecture, as it here appears from page 176, was printed in *The Open Court* of March 1908.

itself. Nothing can be an object to any sane intelligence,—not even one's self—which cannot be defined,—definition by its very form meaning the fixing of a *finis* beyond which an object does not and cannot extend. So that to be 'a person' in our stricter sense of the matter is to be 'limited';—the expression 'infinite Person,' though it has been at times made use of with good enough intention, would be pure nonsense. To worship a limited person, however otherwise exalted, would be to commit idolatry in the form of nature-worship,—for such a person would be an object in nature. We could never truthfully make use of such words as 'almighty,' 'omniscient,' 'omnipresent,' with reference to him;—we could only use the prefix 'all' with reference to his *character*, saying the 'all-holy,' 'all-merciful,' but we could not apply the particle before any term implying *power*, for 'omnipotence' includes 'omniscience' and 'omnipresence.' Such a definable and therefore limited being might conceivably be *supreme* among the objects of nature, and so everlasting—under the Unlimited Superpersonal; but he would be without unlimited *power*, and to make our prayers to him as if to an Unlimited Being would be not only meaningless but perhaps also profane,—it would contravene the First Commandment. Our Adorable and Adored One, Almighty, Omnipresent, Omniscient, and Unlimited is therefore superpersonal,—that is to say, our idea of Him goes out beyond our idea of human or angelic personality. A person, as we have seen, can be defined and so understood,—but our adored-superpersonal-Unlimited One passeth understanding.

(2) Is He—our Deity—the Universe itself?—forbid the sacrilege,—yet there have been parties known to hold that the two ideas—the 'Universe of Nature' and 'Deity'—coincide, and we must ask the question further to define Him by showing what He is not. What, then, is the material, intellectual Universe?—for 'intellect' inheres in nature.—The natural, physical, material, and intellectual

Universe seems, as we generally understand it, to be an inconceivably extended but not unlimited mass of vivified electron-atoms endowed—under the Unlimited—with interior motive-force, and having within it all we know of majesty, design, beauty, and—of grief. Is it stationary within itself?—an inquirer may ask.—On the contrary, motion is its life,—the place-changing of its elemental electrons builds up all that we see of magnificence or charm. Has it ever *begun*?—Never of itself except under the all-causing, all-permitting will of the Unlimited Super-personal. Did it ever *need to be begun*?—Not of its own nature or self—under the Unlimited. Does it ever *increase*?—Not by one measurable fraction of an atom—save for Him. *Can* it ever increase?—Not of its own nature. Does it ever decrease?—In no particular. *Can* it ever decrease?—Not by any infinitesimal particle—except under Him. Do its elemental electron-atoms ever change in their essence?—Not to the slightest conceivable degree of measure. Has the *course* of its incessant interior place-changing of atoms ever been deflected or diverted?—Never—save under His will. *Can* it and *will* it be ever so deflected or diverted?—Never—save as He so wills. Will it ever end?—Never of itself. *Can* it ever end?—Never—save as He puts forth His annihilating power.

Nature, then,—that is to say, the Universe of Nature,—is under His almighty will an unbroken and unbreakable chain of causality unbeginning—save for Him, unbegun—save for Him, indivertible—save for Him, unending in its ever-moving but within themselves never-changing elements. Beyond that self-moving circle science does not penetrate;—He Himself—forbid the thought—is, as so often said, not within this nature-Universe, nor is He the object of its ken;—He is the *object only of its faith*.

(3) *What is His 'permission'?* If the Universe of Nature is in itself complete, of its own nature unbegun and

unending, 'save under Him'—what is the meaning of such a qualification?

This qualification necessarily results from our religious hypothesis.

We believe in an omnipotent and therefore superpersonal God, who dominates all existing and so all imaginable possibilities.—But if an object great or small is unbegun and unending, how can it be and how has it been under His supernatural power? The answer is that the sub-eternity—so to speak—of the physical-intellectual Universe cannot interfere with the absolute supreme eternity of an unlimited, illimitable, superpersonal God—so believed in upon our 'scheme of faith.' If one eternity can exist, as science so well asserts, why may we not accept another, if, as we so religiously believe, the two would be conceivable? [(For our whole concept, from root to blossom, from corner-stone to pinnacle, is reared upon the illimitable supernatural power in the super-scientific masonry of devotion;—and Nature's course seems sometimes interrupted.)] Even as recognised by science there might be two or indefinitely more objects, unbegun but for Him,—unending but for Him,—and yet each such an one might be wholly independent of the others, save from similar particular interior elements and conditions. If, therefore, two or more objects can be thus even in the eye of science unbegun, and yet mutually independent, then by presumption at least there should be no insanity nor difficulty in our religiously accepting as an article of faith the existence of two vast things so different as God and His Universe, both unbegun, the latter so only under Him—for we are not at this point, let me repeatedly emphasise, proceeding upon the lines of finite science.

We do not proclaim a God *ex machina* (*sic*, with Voltaire(?)). We simply mean that we intend and are determined to maintain our devoted belief in the superpersonal indefinable super-existence of our God. This is the point where the question again naturally arises :—since you think

with science that the Universe of Nature may be, ought to be, and is naturally and in itself—but under Him—unbegun, what particularly is then the meaning and bearing of His believed-in, eternal, all-encompassing omnipotence, and of the constantly recurring expression, ‘under Him’?—the question has been already put; I enlarge upon it merely. The pre-supposed answer obviously is, that as the eternity of one object does not interfere with the eternity of another, even in scientific distinctions (see above), so the supersensual illimitable omnipotence of a Supreme religiously-believed-in God may—in religious belief and in our well-meaning scheme—very well envelop, surround, interpenetrate, and maintain the otherwise self-sufficient unbegun and unbeginning existence of a lesser object recognised by science—that is to say, it may be rationally so believed and held in the sense of a quasi-unreasoning, all-giving, illimitable faith. Nothing could be clearer;—the believed-in God, supersensual, Himself beyond all our knowledge, beyond all our measure and calculation, known to us by faith alone with a spiritual knowledge, conceived of as omnipotent by belief alone—could, did, and shall for ever hold all things outside Himself in His almighty power of permission, for sustenance and defence, if aught were able to attack them. Surely if it be not insane for us to accept the existence (or ‘being’) of a God illimitable, beyond our ken, it is likewise not religiously irrational for us to hold to *His Supreme Permission*, as being under all, about all, and over all existing and even everlasting things, even under, about, and over such as have been otherwise of their own nature unbegun.

[(It will be seen that the idea which pervades my whole discussion of the scheme is to decide just where to place the Miracle.—Too hastily has science cast off all belief in Miracle, inattentive to the long reports of closest observations. Things which cannot be accounted for have no doubt occurred;—*i.e.* not yet accounted for;—until science has explained such-like as the product of hitherto undis-

covered forces we feel bound to acquiesce in the statements referred to ;—the apparently supernatural has indeed taken place. If such quasi-supernatural effects can be manifested, who can tell what their limits may be?—I find my ‘supernatural’ in the thought of the Omnipotent God hyperpersonal—all-holy. If either the Universe or one microbe existed to all eternity as unbegun, then He existed with it still potentially omnipotent ;—in such a case He has continuously willed its continuous existence—He has continuously encompassed and continuously permitted all that it is as begun or unbegun. Such is His ‘Permission’ ;—and the thought leads us at once and again on to its quasi-identical fellow-concept ‘Creation.’)]

(4) What is Creation ?, an idea so closely interwoven here. The creation of any object whatsoever means an originating and promotive act (?), breaking in upon the otherwise unbreakable chain of causality—under the Unlimited Superpersonal ;—that is to say, it is a ‘miracle,’ like accident and other manifestations of ‘providence’ ;—it is outside the chain of the otherwise—save for Him—invariable course of nature. To say that a Universe which was never begun was created even by the Unlimited Superpersonal would be a foolish contradiction in terms ;—but it is not a contradiction in terms to say that an Unlimited Being, superpersonal, almighty, could create a physical-intellectual Universe whose forces were balanced and which was, under Him, self-contained and also self-moved,—and which by its own nature did not therefore need ever to have been begun, or to end? ;—and this is all that I have now asserted, though it seems to introduce a new distinction. Surely the Unlimited Power, almighty, superpersonal, if it—or He—exists at all, could and might create anything except a contradiction ;—and therefore He could and might create such a self-moved system, as such a system is not only thinkable but has been almost verified by science. And it is my opinion that our so familiar material-intellectual-universal nature may well be of such a character,

—under Him,—and that He may well have miraculously created a substance-matter of the Universe which otherwise—under Him—needed not of itself to begin, nor to change, nor end;—and this by no means involves an actual non-beginning, though—as seen above—by the exercise of an unlimited all-wise permissive power—a state of non-origin and unlimited permanence past and future might be conceivable and might exist;—and I have the right religiously to believe either the one or the other of these hypotheses.

So also with reference to the incessant place-changing of the otherwise unchanging and unchangeable electron-atoms of the universe which alone builds up the world's phenomena,—to interfere beneficently and promotively in this otherwise unchangeable course would be of the nature of sub-creation and of miracle—though naturally not upon such an immense scale as the almost inconceivable universal miraculous creation of the self-moved elements of the nature-Universe itself;—as the greater creative miracle may have taken place, so may the lesser. And may not this indeed have been—as one may well alternatively suppose—the nature of that 'creation' so wonderfully depicted in Genesis the first. That exquisite piece may well indeed have been intended to portray in poetic lines an original and miraculous creation of the eternal elemental-substance of the nature-Universe itself,—but there is nothing irreverent and much that may be useful in the alternative view that it depicts with unspeakable beauty the lesser form of the creation-miracle,—that is to say, that it represents only a promotive and so creative interference with the otherwise unchangeable course of the developments of nature, unless indeed it be intended as a panoramic poetical representation of the developments of Nature entirely aside from miracle and creation—and all this, let me repeat, seems ever the more seriously practical because greater or less impressive manifestations of a seemingly miraculous creative element have been afforded in events

which have been credibly attested by unquestionably veracious witnesses as inexplicable,—and also in what may be sometimes called ‘accident’ or ‘providence.’

Such are the principles which underlie the following Lectures.

But let me again once more most emphatically repeat that the above remarks and those which follow concern only *our own ideas* as to these things, not presuming to discuss the things themselves—least of all the Superpersonal Unlimited. And yet still further let me guard myself by saying that I here make only positive assertions as to what *seems* to science to be the truth in regard to the balance of universal Nature, its self-contained self-motion.

I do not attempt to dogmatise. I endeavour to define the ideas of these things approximately only by defining more and more closely the things which they are not ;—and from this I proceed by negatives to bring out ever clearer His adorable Godhead and His Truth.

First, and in due course next after the above, in order to bring into clearer light my ideal view of Him, I strive to depict as best I can that most godlike of all Nature’s forces which some seem indeed at times to have confused with Him,—I mean that wonderful thing called ‘Nature’s Mind.’ The clearer we can bring this out as super-ideal in its attractiveness while separate from Him, the clearer again we can extend and enliven our feeble concept of Himself ;—sublime as we can show an exalted thing to be. He is ever still more glorious, yet beyond.

THE VAST MIND-FORCE IN NATURE AS A THING UNSPEAKABLE IN MAJESTY AND JOY.*

—Yes, there is in Nature this one incomparable Power, passing imagination, baffling calculation. It hardly

* This portion of the Lecture was printed in *The Open Court* of September 1907.

approaches in its mystery and grandeur our ideas of the Unlimited Superpersonal Himself, but, if personal, it would indeed almost seem to identify itself with our old Nature-God, the merely personal, not-almighty, if all-loving. And just in so far as we can make this unspeakable object clear and vivid to ourselves, and show it to be separate from Him while it is yet included within His omnipresence and omnipotence—just in so far, as said above, do we add to our adoring concept of Himself. *

This Reason-Mind-Force in all Nature, pervading as it is under the unlimited, all-energising, all-guiding, comes ever clearest to its repeated focus in the marvellous Intent,†—the plan, the design. Of all things under Him it also seems the very one toward which we evermore feel naturally constrained to draw near and ever nearer. So vast it is and yet so closely intricate that neither our measuring reach nor our counting iterations, neither our analyses nor yet our syntheses, seem ever able even to approach its nearest bounds;—we seem to merely feel it, though with rapture;—ever beginning as it is with all other Nature, and also, save for Him, a something unbegun—self-moving like the rest. We can hardly even say that it comes most to consciousness in man;—for how many grades of intellect may there not be beyond us and above us, as there are so many—as we think—beneath us? It moves about us everywhere, steadily, impressively, in the pencillings of leaves, in the growths of embryos as in the sidereal mathematics,—for each ‘half-vivified’ orb of whatsoever grade seems actuated by this Universal thing. Half-vivified, indeed!—We might once well have reserved our qualifying fraction—for the greater Greeks—some of them—thought them to be literally alive. Soft splendours with their mighty centres,—each seems to know and keep so exactly its reasoned course—with waste shed slowly off, at last regathered. So in their last so-called originating fusion—all followed the inspiring all-

* By one mote beatific thing beneath Him.

† Aristotle.

Thought, finding each his place;—one must be a sun, others planets in its system;—the elements in each must be of exactest measure, weight, and even climate. So the plutonic rocks in each as truly as the atmospheres follow the same great Idea, hardening duly from their molten semi-fluid state—diamonds centring as the bubbles ball and dance;—every object, from the most enormous to the most minute, seems interadjusted to all others. Reason, as the mind-soul, inspires most of all—we think—the physically living,—even the lower forms of them;—they know from instinctive miracle things hid from man, though he too has his innings. Wild herds forestall the floods;—the albatross knows just where to strike her path for remotest home when man does not even know his own interests;—how does the butterfly find his mate, or the calf his mother's teats? The crocodile—do they tell us?—knows just where to lay her eggs beyond the reach of Nilus;—the young elephant shelters himself in his mother's lee—how does he know that he is safe there?,—the very chick from the shell flies to a leaf when the cock-bird sounds for the hawk. All being seems to throb with the thought-force intercommunicated,—while man, seemingly least instinctive of them all, can measure the heavens and the seas—even soul. All is stored experience, centring and then pushing on throughout ages;—but how did it all originate,—if ever? Not only Mind but Moral Mind is everywhere;—recall that miracle of sweetness the mother-love;—see too the hate and the revenge—incomprehensible—all of it. Attractions of gravitation have Reason in them—within all, above all, through all—through them and under Him our nature-Universe is one vast breathing mass of sympathy and power, a very Cosmos unfolding itself in myriad forms, infolding itself again;—the microscope reveals systems as intricate as the telescope. Such is the Mind-Force—under Him—throughout all nature. We cannot very well adore it in the lesser sense, for it is *not a person*, nor a sub-person, nor yet a super-person. We

cannot supplicate it, for it is *part of our very selves*—supplication here would be mere fixed self-resolve—nor can we hope much from it, for it is *immovable*. Never has it varied, not even to entreaty, from all a past eternity save through Him—so with the rest,—nor shall it ever vary to the endless coming ages. I call it freely with some speech-figure, ‘great Nature’s Soul,’—so with the Greeks,—the great soul of all reasoned life and all life’s reasoning, involving all it has of strength, joy, sorrows, with Justice; *—Sovereign Rule† is there in it,—and above all there is *æsthetik*—for we are parts of a world all calm with beauty, throbbing with bright wishes based on truth and love.‡ What else in all Nature can approach it;—it seems all Nature’s better self in one. Do we then think it well to turn our backs upon it, this so ill-called ‘poor’ human and ‘poor’ angelic ‘reason,’ so limited?—Do we think it decent so to do? Does He—the Unlimited—turn His back upon it?—Our faith-God Ideal turn His back on Reason!—the Holy One of all-Holies turn His back on all that holds the world non-maniac, indifferent to all that love is nourishing, to all that truth is defending, to all that mercy is redeeming!—Ah no! our faith-God Ideal, our One ever supremely to be adored, is not indifferent to this;—much less is He adverse to it—atrocious thought. He in fact stands ideally related to it;—in shutting out all Nature’s realm from His, I only mean to shut out profanely pushed identities.

His whole supreme Heart, although ideally beyond our ken or intellect, still yearns to it (as, with devout speech-figure, we may say),—still yearns in a sub-sense over it. He adores it too, if so we can imagine, just as Ahura burned sacrifice to Mithra—as kings call nobles ‘Lords.’ It is the all-in-all in our rich world of power and truth,—and as our Supreme Ideal One reveres it, so should we!

* Asha.

† Khshathra.

‡ Vohumanah.

THE WORD IS NIGH THEE.

It does not hold itself aloof in awful distance far beyond, away from us, aloft;—it is close around us as a sweeping sea, yet touching each of us with lightest finger, while it stares us in the very face. Why should we not in one fond blind sense pour out our loving wonder toward it, though it be not ‘personal’ in any sense? He, our Supreme Ideal One delights in it, as we may devoutly say again,—and so may we;—but to do so we must define it from other Nature, and most of all from HIM.

THIRTEENTH LECTURE.

GOD AS ALMIGHTY, SUPERPERSONAL, ALL-HOLY, FURTHER
DEFINED FROM UNIVERSAL NATURE.*

I HAVE endeavoured in the Twelfth Lecture to gather up my revering thoughts toward some great things, godlike, yet not of God's essence, and especially as regards that most majestic and most tender of things thinkable—the once-called 'World's Soul.' Let us now consider for a moment more closely than we have above, and yet still in general, the other phases of that nature-Universe of which the world-soul is in one sense of it the life;—for we can make a distinction between a force, however widely active, and the object, however immense, which it inspires, though the endeared concept just named above comes back to us with welcome persistence and at every step.

What is then again and still more definitely the physical-intellectual Universe of Nature?

Here at once—as I regret to say—a petty, if amazing, question meets us—'amazing only' of the questioner. Is not—so it has been astonishingly asked—is not the physical Universe infinite—that is to say, as extended in space? Such an inquiry would be like that *re* the 'infinite person'; see above. It reminds one of that other sage question sometimes put into the mouths of pupils as to what '*state*' an object is in?—meaning by this whether an object is in a 'state of motion' or a 'state of rest.'—Of course such 'states' as 'motion' or 'rest' are entirely relative to other bodies within the same sphere in Nature;—the 'rest' or

* This Lecture, from page 182, was published in *The Open Court* of April 1908, and has been used in Instructional Lectures since.

'motion' of the Universe itself in the empty 'nothing' outside itself has no meaning. Even in the matter of relative rest or motion, it may be seriously doubted whether there is any such thing as absolute rest, or anything more than approximate rest, even within the electron-atoms of adamant. It reminds me of one of my own early blunders, when I used to wonder how Nature of itself—and without miracle—could regather the heat-power given off by radiation as the planets of solar systems solidified;—of course this heat-force which is motion-force inheres in Nature and is regathered;—but *how*, indeed, remains a question.

The physical Universe is not more unlimited as extended in space than a pebble; nor is it in itself any more mysterious. If we possessed the means of locomotion and the powers of endurance with the skill which might be required, we could travel to the utmost limits of the physical Universe with no expenditure of supernatural effort. Space itself is, as said, mere 'empty nothing' in which objects extend themselves. Mentally indeed, as Kant first emphasised, our thought of space goes out indefinitely,—we cannot conceive of a point in space at which our thought is arrested,—so in numbering. In this sense of it, as our mental concept, space is indeed 'infinite' in its range,—but this is 'dialectics' and has little meaning here.

The material All-world, however, while neat-cut as a prism as regards 'space,' must yet be, as a whole, entirely unmeasured and immeasurable as regards 'time'; for its teeming life in its everlasting change-motion is of course all that actually makes up 'time' itself. Causal thought demands seemingly fresh origination at every instant for each such myriad-phase of passing matter-form, but common sight soon shows us that the substance itself of the particles, of which the almost immeasurably minute and multitudinous appearances are the ~~fleeting~~ shapes,

- cannot itself be destroyed ;—the atomic electron-particles simply change position ;—see above and below. Not fire, flood, nor earthquake diminish their weight by one fraction of a grain ;—do ashes, smoke, and gas weigh less than the not-yet-ignited wood, coal, or spirit ?—see the oxygen and hydrogen separated by electricity in our experimenting machines,—they combine again to equal weight. Let me never be misunderstood :—I block no causes nor beginnings ;—beginnings there are, as said and said again, by the myriad at every instant. ‘All is flow’ with Hegel’s originals, as with himself ;—and precious are all things just in proportion as that flow is strong and rapid.

Life is all the firmer for it,—for it is the flow alone that makes it ;—see the pulse, or rather feel it.—Yes, there are changes as beginnings rushing on at every infinitesimal fraction of a second—but the everlasting elemental substance in which the change takes place is itself unalterable. (How can a change take place without something which changes, but which only changes in its outward form ? If there were no solid basis, motion could not exist, nor be maintained ; a thing cannot move before it exists.) The physically everlasting elemental substratum of all nature is—inadequately—like the deep sea,—‘motionless’ ;—the form-change which is its manifestation is the splendid surge. The water particles rest still, or move but vertically ;—it is the wave-form that rushes on over sea or wheat-field. So also the thought-forms themselves, the life-sparks of sentient nature ;—they cannot stop. Mind-organism on organism reaches mature status and cerebral action at once inevitably sets in ;—it is the mere motion of thought-faculties, thought-particles * ;—the thought-muscles alone rest in sleep, if then. The brain cerebrates, whether normally or not, at advancing stages. Take our common human puberty as a sample,—a seed-thought time it was for most of us ;—see it at the soul’s awaking,—‘conversion’ we used to call it,—blessed crisis :

—we then broke forth to reason's consciousness,—we were veritably 'born again.' 'Right' was our deity;—the strident will seemed fiercely free, to have it out with all our highest yearnings,—this, passionately. Negation seemed cowardice to us; to do some noble thing, or many, was our point;—we took our lives lightly in our hands;—we gripped to do or die;—we would even violently force idlers to take part. But what were we here again but the fine poise of Nature's sentient forces, her better ones? Injustice seemed the kernel of all woe (all hell) to us, its centre,—focus;—but behold, truth was everywhere, half-consciously consoling us.

If the bird be fragile, she can yet rise on wing and be in a moment safe;—if the farm labourer bends to toil, he still smells the sweet earth and breathes the life-giving air;—if the tigress is long starving, she yet enjoys her fierce spring the more, and a fuller meal;—if the inventor wrestles with hell's stabblings in the frightful fights of jealousy, he has yet at times the thrill of victory;—if Dives is his life-long assailed by a million demons tugging for his coin, he has still at moments the glut of his desires. There is (imperfect) balance everywhere,—the essence of what we so fondly try to call 'fair truth.' Equity means evenness (see gravitation, which is analogous to stability, compactness);—it is, however, never perfect, but attempted everywhere—sometimes in terrific forms. Two monsters meet in duel—one horn snaps like a pipe-stem—each battles, so he thinks, and thinks rightly, for some vital interest;—two stags struggle on a precipice—antlers are interlocked—the does look on. The youth knows that he feels conscience as much as this—nay more. And so of that active right-form, the affections, with their obedience;—he, our youth, longs on principle, as on passion, to follow them,—and the very doves do too, dying if parted, of their sorrow. See the wild-fowl's motherhood;—she will draw the gunner off, feigning herself wounded, drooping her bedraggled wings, on ever

- farther from her nest, saving her half-hatched brood ;—look at the common poultry of the barn-door—they even attracted the attention of our Lord ;—see too a keen bitch with her litter ; she shows her sharp teeth at once ;—devotion is a part of nature ;—‘attraction everywhere as the square of the distance’ ; see above.

And what is the controlling order within and throughout it all but a something akin to chemical concentration and distribution ?—like crystallisation ; see above ;—the chief bull leads the herd ;—look at the ants again ;—order is everywhere (attempted), and so is genius. The very mould of the world seems to unfold itself of itself ;—see the chrysalis ; the butterfly’s cast is there ;—look at the physical perfection of a new-born human being ;—every little nail is in its place ;—in fact, all sentient and all non-sentient being is there in motion toward an ideal, infernal or sublime. Even in the fused condition this was so ;—change-phenomenon lived on in the electron in spite of flames ;—forms predestined and pre-existing appeared everywhere, as globe on globe grew cool ;—all the poles at first chilled slowly ;—then half-way down they grew more temperate, till at last the equators became possible, just as the globes themselves contracted from their still prior fire-mists,—and everywhere, as of dire necessity, as the heat went off, ‘life swarmed,’ and with it consciousness, satanic or benign. So our own self-life ;—all was struggling right, love, order, and motion, with intermittent defeat or victory through murder, sneak, etc. ;—but where did it all come from ?—this all-creative force—for none of us who have left our cradles interpose a preternatural creative interference at the very last, or first strange occurrence which we notice going back. We, all of us, insert that miracle at a long distance, indefinitely farther off—all is as yet the eternal ‘sequence’ with us, in the common causal-chain ;—it is ever-changing shape-form from the place-changings of the electron-atoms of the everlasting unchanging substance—substratum.

[(To focus our thoughts upon the one question which is here paramount and closely exacts our utmost attention, let me return for a moment to what I have just said ; 'life swarmed,' I have asserted, including perhaps too lightly the most crucial of all physical inquiries within the other formative processes and their discussion. What, then, as regards the origin of life itself have we further here to say ;—and what as regards its re-origins reiterated in a past eternity?—Has it, life's origin, indeed been no exceptional occurrence with all the others, or have we here the re-originating creation-miracle in its most central effect before us? Well might the unequalled question again possess us, breaking in upon every other consideration.

I hold indeed—so I repeat—to Miracle everywhere as a supreme factor here throughout in this religious scheme of system which I am just building up ;—see everywhere above ;—but immense as are the issues, and enormously difficult as is the problem, I do not think that we need to introduce the Miracle just at this point. Caloric itself, the all-energising, vivified and vivifying life-motion-force throughout us *does not—and did not—as I believe—destroy those forces in the elements which ever evolve the vital principle.*

All existing things once flamed, as said before ;—so once at least, upon this sidereal ball, with its planet-mates, and probably not once alone,—at indefinitely repeated intervals throughout a past eternity ;—all surely passed through fire. Every principle discovered and discoverable was there, with every element, within that blazing mass of burnt nature. Out of these seething substances, once vapour, then fluid, then fiery sands and stones and metals, came all things here terrestrial,—as few now doubt,—for all were already there in germ without exception. The evolving and revolving masses grew slowly dense ;—vapour thickened to liquid, liquid to solid, till the well-formed continents appeared between the oceans, with hot rivers rushing in their own midst as well ;—and •out of• this

- all came the great souls of earth as well as the villains, counterfeits, and knaves,—and with them the now for ever forgotten millions upon millions of other sentient beings who have emerged from the same elements, come also to their apex, some of them, and perished, having vibrated to some partial measure at least, all of them, with the same yearnings, emotions, fears, and hopes in the long æons of a past formative eternity;—and this in endless iterations, catenations. No, verily! we raise no voice to deny that thing ‘beginning’—far from it; God forbid;—see everywhere before. Beginnings rushed on, are rushing now, and will for ever fly at more than electric speed;—it is only the affixed particle to the great word with which we quarrel. ‘Beginnings’ there are, as we cannot too frequently accede, and by the million,—myriads at every fraction of a second,—so ever throughout all,—but they are but the rushings-on of *eternal form-change*,—not one single one of the vast finitude was ever for a moment *absolute as an ultimate*, or primal, original in any sense at all,—not for an instant. Like the chants to God in the Gāthic faith, they ‘had no first’;—all was fleeting ‘form-change’ of an abiding substratum, eternal in its sequence, forth and back;—for so He willed. So only, or rather, so really,—for there is nothing greater than a form-change,—we must not snub it,—substance’s eternally proceeding external it is—mighty indeed,—advancing ever,—so they are, these form-changes with crashing cataclysms in smiles of beauty or frowns of horror. Differences there are in them, somewhat great;—slime and a solar system are not so close alike;—nor are a fetish and a Phidias. The ever-furious fresh form-changes glide, or crash on with standing speed (*sic*), and in that motion under Him all sentient life-forces have their being,—but from the first ever imagined slightest jar,—not to say ‘recorded,’—to those awful motions now passing at this present instant, not one single one of them, not even LIFE ITSELF, has been without its causing conditions, save for HIM.))

A SUMMARY WITH AN APPLICATION.

SUCH, then, was and is my attempt to redeem our holy faith from nature-worship,—if still from one half-unconscious and most seductive,—while I would ever at the same time exalt our supreme adoration of the All-merciful, Almighty, Illimitable God, superpersonal and omnipresent. And in doing this I have endeavoured to point out,—not what He is—*forbid!*—but what our *ideas* of Him are;—and I have done this by showing what our ideas of Him are not;—for to endeavour to show what He is aside from this negative method would be profane.* I have shown that we may declare Him to be superpersonal beyond all limits,—not a phase of nature merely, nor an object in nature personal like ourselves and limited, perhaps mighty, but not almighty. And in the course of doing this I have tried to build up both arguments and their illustrations out of the deductions and discoveries of that very science which sometimes would resist our worship;—for I wish to accept with gratitude and still more diligent examination all that active sanity has shown to be most probable as the truth—and what is discussion without truth?—above all, what is religion (!) without it? First of all I have endeavoured to make plain that our Universe, moral, material, intellectual, is—always under His will—complete as in itself for good or ill,—the best, the worst, the only possible.†

* Who by searching can find Him out? ‘Verily Thou art a God that hidest Thyself, O God of Israel!’ Even ‘nature loves to conceal itself.’

† How exceedingly ill-judged it was of Schopenhauer to emphasise so constantly ‘the worst world,’ as of Leibnitz to talk so much about the ‘best’: it is of course the ‘only possible’ world;—otherwise we have ‘chaotic intoxication.’

This I believe to be the first of intellectual truths; and I think it to be one of the most sacred of all our duties to hold it firm, saving it from profanation. Our Universe could not exist for one instant, save as He has willed it and as He wills it,*—all its wonder, all its power, all its beauty, all its terror rests and moves and lives incomprehensibly only in Him;—but I urgently maintain that even while it may so exist under Him it is as a mechanism self-moved and self-sufficient. Even if it once began in time, it so began under Him and at His will; and if it never needed to begin, it was as existing under His permissive will. I have also asserted my right to believe that it may in fact be true that it did so never need to begin—under Him,—and that it is also so constituted under Him that it will never of itself end. Surely there is a higher adoration† lurking here rather than a suspicion of impiety. Though a thing be self-contained, if it be still within and under His almighty power, it is then as evermore His property none the less, and His glory is to us obviously the more exalted when we recognise this strange completeness in His possession, while with one touch He could annihilate the whole of it, if so He would—with another re-originate it;—so that while it is indeed a contradiction in reasonable terms to say that He created a Universe which was never begun—it is actually no contradiction—see above—to say that He created that which would aside from His creative word need no creation, nor yet is it a contradiction to say that He may have actually from all eternity *permitted* and *upheld* the existence of a mechanism the forces of which are balanced and contained within itself, and which has of itself never begun, and which of itself shall never end‡. Confusion of thought here baffles us, as of course,—but why should it so arise? Could not Omnipotence

* See above, upon the 'Underlying Principles,' page 169 ff.

† See above and below.

‡ Recapitulated from the 'Underlying Principles.'

create or permit the existence of an object which would otherwise have been in itself unbegun as well as unending, if so He willed,—and is not the contrary irrational? For surely no unbegun and unending existence has of itself any *supreme divinity*,—it is ‘under Him’; and even aside from Him it has not even then any independent power, unless it be the Universe itself—for all the force in every separated object is but one pulsation of the universal moving energy. *Permanence* is not in itself a thing adorable;—time itself is something existing only in our minds (so again with Kant);—it is our own observation and our own measure of the course of nature;—there is no ‘time’ with Him, as one day even with ourselves ‘time shall be no more.’ Past and future are with Him but one absolute present, a present not like ours an ever-fleeting point. If He from His eternity wills the existence of a self-contained, self-moving object, where is the impossibility and where the mystery—for active sanity has long since shown that every pebble in its elements exists—under Him—as of itself? What business have we to talk of ‘*confusion*’ here? We are dealing with matters *in themselves* utterly beyond all conclusive inference. Standing in awful adoration as we do, upon the very field of faith before the all-presence of our Almighty Illimitable God—no mere Olympic person—what right have we to fumble here with *mysteries*?—*all is mystery as of course*. And what, after all, is there so wonderful in this—under Him—this *unbegun* existence?—surely what exists in this flying moment is as wonderful as the unbegun, if not more so?—and here we cannot well be too particular.

What could be so wonderful as that miracle, the supposed arrest or diversion of the ever-moving form-change,* even for one moment—not to speak of the elemental substance;—*the Permanence* is not the exception, the wonder;—Permanence in the regulated form-change, in the phenomenon of the substance, is *the rule*;—it.

* See the ‘Underlying Principles.’

the *Permanence*, is in reality the reverse of wonderful ;— it is merely the punctual and fully expected reappearance on every day of an object in form-change which always occurs in the causal chain, and could not but recur. Is not the fact that a pebble exists to-day really more wonderful than that the pebble's elements existed yesterday? Of course it is ;—I say 'the pebble's elements,'—for the pebble's form has changed since yesterday, if but infinitesimally through waste. That it exists in this present vanishing moment proves that the forces which were in it yesterday *still hold out*, a matter not at all so lightly to be taken as self-evident—not at least in the light of higher science. We could vow from habit that a pebble which we see to-day—barring slight waste—existed yesterday ;—but we could only do so because it seems to be before us now this instant *in the causal chain*. The fact that it existed yesterday is the needed basis of its to-day's existence ;—that yesterday's existence is the farthest removed of all things from a mystery, and so of before-yesterday and before-yesterdays before that by the million—back to the very infinite. The fact of these fore-yesterdays, with the ever same form-changes in the ultimate particles of the elemental substance, is the most *commonplace of all commonplaces*, never the exception.

The continuous process of the form-changing, even if it continues unbroken back to a past eternity, is not the miracle which, when recognised, should startle us,— it is, on the contrary, the slightest *break* in that causality which would seem to us the maniac's idea ;—that is, save for Him ;—it is this which should be the astounding thing, —the sub-eternity of timelessness in this substance is the *natural state of all physical existence* ;—and we should school ourselves ceaselessly to get used to it.

For if these elements which now exist before our eyes in their ever swiftly passing form-change have existed in a causal chain throughout a past eternity as a necessity

to their existence this instant, aside from fantastic error, how could they have ever got out of existence at any conceivable past period of time?;—and if they had ever existed before a supposed annihilating break, where could they have gone to?—and how was the space filled up which they once occupied?—and if they had never existed before, where did they then come from?—aside from His creative fiat. Our imaginations are diseased upon this subject—diverted, perverted, subverted. The *Unbegun*—aside from Him—should be to us the simplest of all simple things, the most familiar of all familiar, the one idea non-ideotic. So—of course—as we slowly recover from our fond fatuities, infantile as they were,*—so while taking fully in what this simplest of all simple things must mean,—what else,—let me repeat once more, to drive this most critical of all suggestions home—what else can such a recognition do but exalt the more, and ever yet the more, our adoration of Him who created such a self-moved mechanism or—what is the same—permitted it? Nothing can increase *His* glory which is illimitable—but surely this can and must increase *our* measure of it—as I repeat.† If a self-moved Universe, unbeginning in itself, unbegun in itself, unending, save for Him, is the grandest of all conceivable objects, filling up—to over-repletion—our receptive image-making power, surely this exalts our adoration of Him who is its Owner—its Permitting Lord—its illimitable, all-powerful Creator; and this was meant to be the proposition with which I first set out.

Why then—it may be asked—do you say ‘Our Father’ in your prayer? All the more, I answer,—I do •so all the more from these my principles, for ‘I walk by faith,’ speaking with illimitable freedom when I speak in worship of Him who ‘dwelleth in light which no man can approach unto’—and of what He represents. Do you understand,

* Recovering from our congenital imperfection.

† See above.

• then—so one may inquire further—what you say of the Illimitable? How futile is the question ;—see everywhere above. I build up negations indeed with intellection, that is to say, with ‘understanding’; but as to *Him*—I throw my soul in adoring worship before His footstool—‘Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name.’ But are not those words ‘speech-figure’?—so some might interpose once more.—All language of the kind is but speech-figure—to help express things not otherwise expressible?—I take with others the sweetest word in all the universe of sound, and I apply it to the Great Spirit illimitable who is over all, within all, throughout us all,—He who in the beginning by awful creative miracle made, or still more wonderfully permitted and upheld, the heavens and the earth :—and with that same creative and permissive miracle may He save us as we need !

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This Dictionary is in the original Avesta characters, containing a complete Grammar of the forms in the Gāthas, with lengthy excursions upon both the danger and the value of the Pahlavi, Persian, and Sanskrit translations.

YASNA I. In its Sanskrit equivalent separately printed, 1911, pp. 22-25.

YASNA XXVIII. In its Sanskrit equivalent (Roth's *Texts*, 1893) and in the Jubilee Memorial Volume of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy College, Bombay, 1914.

YASNA XXIX. In its Sanskrit equivalent, pp. 25. Louvain (Muséon), 1912-25.

YASNA XXX. In Sanskrit. ZDMG, 1914.

YASNA XXXI. In Sanskrit. Muséon, 1914-35.

YASNA XXXII. In Sanskrit. JRAS, April and October, 1915.

YASNA XLIV. In its Sanskrit forms, 1897, Paris Congress, re-edited in the ZDMG, 1911-12. (The rest of the Gāthas are in manuscript in similar form.)

YASNA XLVIII. In Sanskrit. JRAS, Bombay branch, 1916.

ZOROASTRIAN FORE-EXPOUNDED IN THE FORM OF DIALOGUES. Published by the Trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Fund, Bombay, 1916. — (?)

THE CREED OF ZARATHUSHTRA. Published by the Zoroastrian Association of Bombay. 1916.

OUR OWN RELIGION IN ANCIENT PERSIA, being a collection of Lectures delivered in Oxford, collating the pre-Christian Exilic Pharisaism with the *dignatikh* of the Avesta, so advancing the Persian Question to the foremost position in our Biblical Criticism. pp. 193 + x, 1913. 6s.

AVESTA ESCHATOLOGY COMPARED WITH DANIEL AND REVELATIONS. The Open Court Pub. Co., 1908, 50 cents net. SAGGI DILETTURE, TENUTE ALL' UNIVERSITÀ DI OXFORD, SULLA RELIGIONE DELL'AVESTA, being sections of Lectures delivered in Oxford, with ZOROASTER AND THE BIBLE by L. H. MILLS (*Nineteenth Century Review*, 1894, first translated into German by N. D. Coorāwālā, of Bombay, 1896), translated into Italian by an accomplished Italian man of letters upon his own initiative (Torino, 1910). To be had of G. Sacerdote, Fium, Italy. pp. 75. Price 2s. Gratis to students of Rome and Naples.

ZARATHUSHTRA, PHILO, THE ACHÆMENIDS, AND ISRAEL. pp. 490 + xxx (Open Court Pub. Co., 1909, price \$1.00 net), still to be had of Kegan Paul, French, Trübner & Co., and of booksellers in Oxford, at 12s. 6d. "He treats his subject thoroughly and exhaustively . . . deep and patient studies," J. L. Mohl, Head Priest of the Parsis, Colaba, Bombay, in the *Paras* of Bombay, 1906. "A wealth of learning and thought," *Nation*, N.Y., August 30, 1909.

"Prof. Mills's name stands foremost in the ranks of those who have explored the field of Avestic literature." *The East Gujar*, Bombay, April 18, 1909. — "Beyond question our leading authority now living on the Gāthas" (Dr Gray). *The Nation*, N.Y., August 30, 1909. — "Alles was für die Erklärung der Gāthas notwendig ist." (So also Dr. West in JRAS, 1906.) — "Immer wird es die Grundlage bilden, auf der sich jede weitere Forschung aufbauen muss . . . einen hervorragenden Dienst." *Zeitschrift der deutschen M.G.*, 1896, (the later R. Precht, first Sanskritist of Germany). "It will ever remain the basis upon which all future research will be built" — A new edition has been inquired for and is in progress. — Earlier (of Mills' Gāthas) "Das Ergebnis einer einstündigen Arbeit sehr mannigfaltiger Art — unser Verständnis der Gāthas machung gefordert." *Gothe's Gelehrte Anz.*, May 13, 1893. — "Insbesondere von Mills, der diese schwierigen Gedichte in gründlichster Weise behandelt hat." *Preussisches Jahrbuch*, 1897, Prof. Justi (Lexicographer). — "Tous ceux qui s'occupent de l'interprétation des Gāthas rendront hommage à l'humaine labeur scientifique de M. Mills . . . son livre reste un instrument indispensable pour l'étude." Prof. James Darmesteter, *Revue Critique*, September 18, 1893.

A few copies of the Gāthas (Av., Pahl., Skt., Pers. texts, and Comm., pp. 622 + xxx, 1892-4) are still to be had for libraries at £3, of booksellers in Oxford. — "the great work now before us which may be truly called monumental . . ." (the late Sir William Hunter in *The Times* of India of September 22, 1894). New edition to be subventioned by Government.

V. XXXII
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WORKS by PROFESSOR MILLS

LATEST—1913

A DICTIONARY OF THE GĀTHIC LANGUAGE OF THE ZEND AVESTA,

being pp. 623-1138+xxx of the FIVE ZARATHUSH-
TRIAN GĀTHAS, completing that work. Vols. i. and
ii. were subventioned by his Lordship the Secretary of
State for India in Council, and by the Trustees of the Sir
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This work, together with vol. xxxi. of the *Sacred Books
of the East*, and with the editions of the Pahlavi Yasna
II, IX-XXVI, LIV-LXXI, published in *Z.D.M.G.*, trans-
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The author here endeavours to reproduce all the more
serious opinions of other writers, ancient and modern, and
especially those in the Asiatic Commentaries, Pahlavi,
Persian, and Sanskrit, which are deciphered, edited, and
translated, and commented upon in the first two volumes.
He is happy to say that his views coincide with those latest
issued as closely as could be expected in the case of writers
pursuing mutually independent studies, more closely than
those of any two mutually independent writers upon the
Rig Veda, while he reports the views of others largely as
alternatives. His sole point of criticism concerns the
incomplete mastery of the materials on the part of esteemed
writers who follow opinions made without the exhaustive
study of the Pahlavi, Persian, and Sanskrit commentaries,
which circumstance alone mars the otherwise great value of
their suggestions.

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character, and contains the entire text of the Gāthas, also
a complete Grammar of all the forms in the Gāthas, includ-
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of the Pahlavi, Persian, and Sanskrit translations. Price
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purchased pp. 1-199. 10s.

YASNA I in its Sanskrit equivalents separately
printed, 1912, pp. 22. 2s.

YASNA XXVIII in its Sanskrit equivalents (Roth's
Festgruss, 1893).

YASNA XXIX in its Sanskrit and English equivalents, pp. 25, just issued. Louvain (*Muséon*), 1912.

YASNA XLIV in its Sanskrit forms, 1897, re-issued in the *Z.D.M.G.*, 1911-12. (The rest of the Gāthas are in manuscript in similar form, and will be issued as time permits.)

Just issued. OUR OWN RELIGION IN ANCIENT PERSIA, being a collection of Lectures delivered in Oxford, collating the pre-Christian Exilic Pharisaism with the *dogmatik* of the Avesta, so advancing the Persian Question to the foremost position in our Biblical Criticism, pp. 193 + xii, 1913. 6s.

THE YASNA OF THE AVESTA

in continuous treatment, upon the plan initiated in the FIVE ZARATHUSHTRIAN GĀTHAS, by L. H. MILLS, Professor of Zend (Avesta) Philology in the University of Oxford. A STUDY OF YASNA I, with the Avesta, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian Texts. The Pahlavi is given in the original character and in transliteration, the Pahlavi and Sanskrit being translated into English here, the Avesta in *S.B.E.*, xxxi, 1887, with Sanskrit Equivalents here, 1910: the Persian is itself an interlinear translation of the Pahlavi. The Avesta Text is reconstructional with copious notes. The Pahlavi is re-edited from the Journal of the *German Oriental Society*, with all the MSS. collated, Bd. lvii. Heft iv., 1903: the English translation is re-edited from the Journal of the *Royal Asiatic Society* for October 1904: Nēryosangh's Sanskrit is re-edited from Spiegel, with the additional collation of five MSS., and for the first time translated. The Persian is from the Munich MS. already partly edited in the Gāthas. An Appendix contains the accented Sanskrit Equivalents of the Avesta Text by the Author, issued upon the plan adopted by him with Yasna XXVIII in Roth's *Festgruss*, 1893 (see Oldenburg's remarks *re* the Vedic poetry, in *Vedic Religion*, p. 27), and with Yasna XLIV in the Acts of the Eleventh Congress of Orientalists held in Paris, 1897, 2nd ed., *Z.D.M.G.*, 1911-12. Four photographic plates of MSS., with other illustrative matter, are added, pp. 163, to be had of F. A. BROCKHAUS, in Leipzig, 7s. 6d. Yasna I is especially valuable, as it deals with the chief important questions of all the non-Gāthic Yasna.

YASNA XXVIII re-translated into English in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1911.

YASNA XXIX, commented upon re-translated into English and Sanskrit, *Muséon*, 1912. (See above.)

YASNA XXX re-translated into English in *J.R.A.S.*, 1912.

YASNA XLIV, 1-10, re-translated in *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1911.

YASNA XLIV, commented upon, with Sanskrit translation by the author in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1912. (See above.)

A few copies of ZARATHUSHTRA, PHILO, THE ACHÆMENIDS AND ISRAEL, pp. 460 + xxx (1905-06) are still to be had of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., and of the leading booksellers in Oxford, at 12s. 6d. "He treats his subject thoroughly and exhaustively . . . deep and patient studies." J. J. Modi, Head Priest of the Parsis, Colaba, Bombay, in the *Parsi* of Bombay, 1906.—"A wealth of learning and thought." *Nation*, N.Y., August 30, 1906 (Dr. GRAY).—This work, almost in its entirety, first appeared in articles in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

AVESTA ESCHATOLOGY COMPARED WITH DANIEL AND REVELATIONS, by L. H. MILLS (1908), to be had of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co. SAGGI DI LETTURE, TENUTE ALL' UNIVERSITA DI OXFORD, SULLA RELIGIONE DELL' AVESTA, dal Prof. LORENZO MILLS, being sections of lectures, delivered in the University of Oxford, with ZOROASTER AND THE BIBLE, by L. H. MILLS (*Nineteenth Century Review*, 1894, first translated into Gujarati by N. D. COORLĀWALĀ, of Bombay, 1896), now translated into Italian by an accomplished Italian man of letters upon his own initiative, 1910. G. Sacerdote, Turin, Italy. Pp. 75. Price 2s.

The Ahuna Vairya formula, *J.R.A.S.*, 1910.

THE GĀTHAS IN ENGLISH VERBATIM AND FREE METRICAL, with Headings from *S.B.E.*, xxxi. (Leipzig, 1900; 7s.), has been re-issued, bound with the Sanskrit Equivalents of Yasna I, the Pahl. in oriental and transliterated characters, the Persian, Sanskrit, and the Italian, or with the Dictionary. As bound up with the DICTIONARY, this English edition of 1900 gives both the complete Gātha text, with Grammar and Dictionary, and also a verbatim and free metrical version. The antiquations of the English edition of 1900 are corrected in the Dictionary, and to some extent in *Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia*; see also the

new Editions of Y. XXVIII, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, 1911; Y. XXIX in the *Muscœon*, 1912; Y. XXX in *J.R.A.S.*, 1911; Y. XLIV, 1-10, in the *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, 1911, and in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1912.

The thirty-first volume of the *Sacred Books of the East*, the YASNA, VISPARAD, AFRINAGAN, AND GĀH, pp. 400+xlvi, 1887 (same Author), is still to be had at 12s. 6d. ("the best Translations are those by Darmesteter and Mills": thus Dr. GILDNER, *Ency. Brit.*, vol. xxiv. p. 778); as is the ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT OF THE YASNA, collotyped in an unsurpassed manner in the actual size and colour of the original, 770 photographs, with Introductory Note by L. H. MILLS (Ten Guineas). This is the main document of the above-mentioned works, and for the presence of the original of it in the Bodleian Library Mr. Mills is responsible, 1889.

"Prof. Mills's name stands foremost in the ranks of those who have explored the field of Avestic literature" *The East Gleaner*, Bombay, April 18, 1909.—"Beyond question our leading authority now living on the Gāthas." *The Nation*, N.Y., August 30, 1906.—[Earlier] (of Mills' Gāthas) "Das Ergebniss einer erstaunlichen Arbeit sehr mannigfaltiger Art—unser Verständniss der Gāthas mächtig gefordert." *Gott. Gelchr. Anz.*, May 13, 1893.—"Insbesondere von Mills, der diese schwierigen Gedichte in gründlichster Weise behandelt hat." *Preussisches Jahrbuch*, 1897. Prof. JUSI (Lexicographer).—"Tous ceux qui s'occupent de l'interprétation des Gāthas rendront hommage à l'immense labeur scientifique de M. Mills . . . son livre reste un instrument indispensable pour l'étude." Prof. JAMES DARMESTETER, *Revue Critique*, September 18, 1893.

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A very few copies of the Gāthas (Av., Pahl., Skt., Pers. texts, and Comm., 1p. 622+xxx, 1892-94) are still to be had for libraries, at £3. of F. A. BROCKHAUS in Leipzig.



PROFESSOR MILLS AT HOME

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•Avesta Eschatology

compared with

The Books of Daniel and Revelations

Being supplementary to

Zarathushtra, Philo, the Achæmenids and Israel

by

Dr. Lawrence H. Mills

Professor of Zend Philology in Oxford

Chicago
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1908

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PREFACE.

THIS hurried booklet was fortunately occasioned by a cordial and repeated invitation from the well-known conservative writer Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., Bampton Lecturer for 1878, Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint, etc., and author of a large number of scholarly writings upon the various books of the Bible. Wishing to enable his public to have a glance at all sides of the questions involved in the discussion of the book Daniel, he thought that the views of a close specialist upon Zoroastrianism would be useful if put in the form of an Appendix to his second volume, though he carefully refrains from committing himself to all that his friends might say in those concluding pieces.

And I, for the matter of that, on the other hand, and for my part,—as of course—likewise refrain from any responsibility involved in the pleasing and distinguished connection.

As will be seen, this little essay forms a short supplement to my own work just lately published on *Zarathushtra, Philo, the Achæmenids and Israel*, (Open Court Publishing Co., 1906). It will not be denied that such a study, however brief it may be, is perhaps the very next thing of all others that suggests itself as necessary to be done after the matter treated in those well-meant and, in a certain sense, pioneer pages. Here again in a redoubled application of the term, even though occupying such a limited space, in printed matter I am also "pioneer" once more, for I do not know where any person at all has ever even thought of such a thing as comparing the ideas of the Bible with those of the Avesta; and that, as it were, verse by verse.

I think that this theme, although I attempt it here in this merely incipient treatment, ought to prove interesting, for it is absolutely certain that no further steps whatsoever can be made in the matter of exhausting the subject of Zoroastrian influence until

something similar to this preliminary sketch has been written for all the other books of the Bible, if for no other reason, then because Exilic matter exists—in my opinion—in the fullest possible amplitude throughout the entire Old Testament, least of all excepting what are generally and justly termed its primeval books; see pages 59, and 60 ff. This is a conviction which has been long and gradually forming itself within my mind. I will not linger further upon this point,—except to emphasize the fact that these views, here expressed in this booklet, are necessarily put down in haste,—if anything can be said to be done in haste which has been only possible to be done at all after more than thirty years' close labor.

For instance, I have not gone back of the leading Biblical critics as to Daniel and Revelations, while I have all along been obliged so to go back of all critics (!) upon the Avesta, where I was actually forced to toil on from the very first almost entirely as an autodact upon my *Via Media*,—and so on for many years.

And my long, arduous, and harassing labor upon all sides of the Avesta forms my only apology for proceeding in a rather hurried manner upon one side of my work done here. My well-meant and eagerly appropriated contributions to Zend Philology in its main bulk certainly constitute a claim upon some at least of our Biblical expositors;—I allude to those who have broken away from the fetters of a theological nursery, and have proceeded seriously to discuss the Semitic documents as such; while my constantly re-attempted minor publications upon the particular point of Zoroastrian influence upon our Judaism and Christianity,—if they are worth anything at all—must furnish some items for all serious future Biblical critics, for they extend over a period commencing with 1887 to the present day, including my article on “Zoroaster and the Bible” in the *Nineteenth Century Review* of January, 1894,—the particular form of the title having been the distinguished Editor's suggestion. Moreover I believe I am well-nigh the only person with both theoretical and practical religious training save Monseigneur de Harlez and Monseigneur Casartelli who ever entered closely into these difficult matters. Be this as it may, it is clearly my duty, and none too soon accepted, to publish at once what has occurred to me to be of interest upon the points here at issue; and that without delay; and I also fulfil this duty willingly, as I hope. The short Appendix IV to the Rev. C. H. H. Wright's second volume upon Daniel which appeared in the spring of 1906, flows more freely in its style than this exposition because it was

penned off at a single stroke after I had much fatigued myself with all the minor references of this treatise, consisting as it does, of a few of my university instructional lectures.

These few chapters then constitute my study to that other more pleasing and still shorter summary :—and I trust they will engage a sympathetic attention to the same degree.

LAWRENCE H. MILLS.

OXFORD, October, 1906.

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CHAPTER I.

THE CASE PRIMA FACIE.

Literary and Historical Connection Between the Avesta and the Exilic Semitic Scriptures.

THE supposed Zoroastrian elements in the Book of Daniel have always been considered to be very striking; but as they form a part of a whole with their predecessors and successors, they cannot be estimated altogether aside from other Exilic matter. So that the entire ancient religious literature of the Jews is brought into the question, though as a matter of course the limits of the space at my disposal here do not permit me to treat the whole of it in this section. And if Zoroastrian elements appear anywhere at all within the Jewish ancient literature, we may take it for granted that the entire mass of Zoroastrian doctrine must have exerted the most decided influence upon the developments of Jewish Exilic and of the Christian theology, for a part here proves the presence and influence of the whole.

And this at once, as I need not say, entails the gravest possible consequences in our decisions as to the vital matter of precedence or sequence in the intellectual forces here brought into consideration, as they develop themselves and become manifest in our histories of religious thought.

The objective before us, then, is to illustrate, from various points of view taken here and for the present neces-

sarily from restricted portions of the Semitic Scriptures, the admitted fact that the Jewish tribes entered a new intellectual world at the so-called Captivity, and then that this sphere was largely dominated by Medo-Persian as well as by Babylonian ideas, and that it was therefore to a degree Zoroastrian, and that upon this it was built up as a mass of national religious sentiment and system.

* * *

It is, however, necessary for me to interpose here an important precautionary salvo. It is this: that the Persian theology with which we are here called upon to deal, is, if we must judge from its surviving documents, divisible into two branches or schools: the Median, the more thoroughly Zoroastrian as represented by the Zend-Avesta, and the Southern school of Persepolis as represented by the Achæmenian Inscriptions. It is of course possible that these two portions of the Mazda-worship interest may not really have differed from each other as much as their now surviving documents would seem to indicate; while their close relation in spite of all conceivable divergence is not for a moment to be contested, for they have much that is essential in common; and they must each be considered as at times expressing but one and the same phase of religious conception; but still it is safer to form our judgments from these actually surviving writings, particularly as each of them is of a signal character in its particular sphere.

So looked upon, it is chiefly the Median Mazda worship, that is to say, the Zoroastrian, centering in Ragha, which is here brought into bearing with the grave questions which we are discussing, rather than the Achæmenian or Daric inscriptional elements on which I here chiefly rely, and to which I here first of all refer as at once. With the two lores in view, that is to say, with that of the Exilic

Pharisaism on the one side and that of the Zend-Avesta on the other, we have two occurrences of the most important possible of religious ideas that have ever been propagated, present in two religious systems brought closely into connection with each other, as I show just below, one of which, the Jewish Exilic, dominates all Western civilization; and this actual historical literary connection between them, if it be proved to our satisfaction to be a fact, cannot help but afford occasion for the deepest possible reflection and inquiry, which must also be regarded as pre-eminently interesting from several points of view.

We must first of all mention and make clear what may be called the incontestable points of literary connection between these Iranian and Semitic lores from this line of thought, corroborative particulars from other sources following in due course; for, as I have said, if anything at all approaching to a literary connection between the two centers of intelligence can be established, our case is by the very fact of it made out, with all that it involves; for Zoroastrianism is the main document of our eschatology, a fact which should be taken everywhere for granted, as the slightest examination would confirm it.* And first of all in our further procedure we have to note the general features of the situation.

* * *

The entire mass of the Medo-Persian Mazda-worship is, as we assert, brought into close association with Judaism in an unparalleled manner in the familiar passages which meet us in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, the later Isaiah, Daniel, etc., and in the entire Exilic and post-Exilic Jewish and Christian literatures, that is to say, when this mass of profoundly interesting religious detail is studied

*From start to finish we have everywhere in Zoroastrianism the main points of our eschatology; there was no other lore at the period of the oldest Avesta which so expressed the doctrines almost in modern terms.

in connection with the Achæmenian inscriptions of the Persian kings whose edicts are cited in the Bible. To speak of Exilic Jewish history is then to speak of Persian history in one of its most interesting episodes, and vice versa; for such allusions center in the superlative circumstances, of the so-called Return of the Jewish Tribes and the re-establishment of their religion upon its original representative site with the to us so momentous consequences. And no statements could be stronger, as might be said, than those well-known familiar ones which are everywhere so prominent in the documents themselves, with perhaps Isaiah xliv or xlv at their head. The Persian Emperor who represented his religion (see the inscriptions) is there accepted as the "anointed of Yahveh"—an expression which carried with it the assurance of the existence of the deepest possible religious sentiment with regard to the exalted personage to whom it alludes; and this with a salvo in verse 7 which doubly accentuates the affirmatives. So much for the connection *prima facie*. But when we have said this we must proceed to mention here, although still only in a preliminary sense, some individual particulars, as a further succinct but necessary introduction of our subject, though some of these will necessarily occupy our attention again in their detail further on.

* * *

The first of them would be perhaps that truly monumental circumstance in the Medo-Persian Jewish religious history, the presence of the "Seven Spirits" of the Zend-Avesta in Job, Zechariah, Tobit and the Apocalypse. The first mentioned, the occurrence in Job, indeed lacks the mention of the number "Seven," but the "walking to and fro in the Earth" is characteristic, while in the occurrence in Tobit xii. 15 we have both the words together, and the ideas are especially clinched to the Iranian work by the mention of one of the oldest of the Gāthic demons (Tobit

iii. 8. 17; viii. 3) in close association with them (the seven Ameshaspends), added to which we have the Avesta city Ragha mentioned more than once, and all in the same book.

The tale of the Book of Tobit seems indeed to be a story largely centering about the Zoroastrian capital, if we might so call the most prominent place mentioned in the Avesta: see Tobit i. 10, 14: "And I went into Media and kept ten talents of silver in trust with Gabriel the brother of Gabrias at Rases, a city in Media" see also Tobit iv. 1; iv. 20; v. 5; vi. 9; vi. 12; ix. 2; xiv. 4.

Ragha, as we know, was so completely Zoroastrian that the very name "Zarathushtra" became a civic title there of high order, and it was even used in the superlative degree as "most Zarathushtra," totally losing the significance of its original application to the particular family of the distinguished prophet.

Kohut* also with much probability likewise found the common Persian word Khshathra, which is also the name of the third Avestic Ameshaspend, in Esther as well as in Daniel. This would of course only help to illustrate still more the close Persian relation, which we may regard as hardly contested; but with much sagacity he noticed the "uer" of Ahasuerus, which equals "vēr"; and in it he with much plausibility saw not only the Persian Khshathra—the "Ahas" having resulted, as so often in similar cases, from contraction plus the added incipient "A"—but he saw the Avestic Khshathra-vairya, the "vēr" representing this latter part of the compositum, as indeed it does also in the Pahlavi middle Persian, Khshathra and Vairya also occurring in close association even in the Gāthas.† The asserted analogies between the Persian, the Jewish, and the Babylonian month-names, are also

* See his work cited below, now of course antiquated, but still suggestive.

† If indeed this recognition be not beyond dispute, it yet awakens our attention and our zeal to search for other analogies.

particularly significant. Not pausing upon what may be considered especially controversial in Benfey's attempted identifications here (see also his successors), it will be convenient to call especial attention to the signal word "Adar" (Atar), which is purely Persian, both in its literal meaning and in its here so significant application. No scholar can have failed to become aware that the word for fire, while well-nigh the most common word of its kind in the Persian, is at the same time perhaps the most sacred of its sort in that language; for the element was personified as an Angel and has a Yasht really, though not formally, devoted to it, and this in the genuine if yet later Avesta.

Zoroastrians have also been for a long time called "Fire worshipers," on account of their especial use of fire in worship, which was rather more pronounced than its adoption among the Hebrews except perhaps in the Exilic and post-Exilic times; and even here the use of the Seven Lamps to symbolize the Seven Spirits, which lingers in the Church is perhaps not so striking as the fire altars perpetually burning in the Zoroastrian temples. And the influence of the ideas which center in this "element" was so marked that an important province to the southwest of the Caspian Sea was named Azerbaigan Adharbāgān.*

It was also in connection with the names of others of the most holy concepts in Iranian thought that the word "Adar" was so prominently adopted as the name of a Parsi month,[†] as it is also in both the Jewish and the Assyrian; and this circumstance, though it is not at all the most incisive of the initial features, is yet one of the most convincing, and affords formidable proof of early Iranian influence upon Babylon.

*The Holy Fire was not perhaps as yet personified in the Gāthā, but it is still most reverently mentioned. Some Parsis have, I think, cherished the belief that the fires upon the chief altars in the Fire Temples were originally supernaturally imparted.

[†] As *ādar* = "fire" was a word otherwise totally unknown to the Semitic languages in this sense, the facts are peculiarly important.

As this item is so incisive in the impression which it makes upon us I will dwell for a moment longer upon it here.

Here is a month named "Adar" in the Babylonian, the Jewish and the Persian languages. To the Babylonian and the Hebrew, the term is wholly foreign, certainly so if it meant "fire" in Babylonian and Hebrew; but in the Iranian Medo-Persian it is one of the most common of all household terms, also emphatically sanctified for the sacrifice, and its application in Iranian to the naming of a month accentuates its distinction. To which then of the three languages, which each used it for a month, was it originally so applied?

Is it likely that the Babylonians developed out of their own speech, and as if by accident, a word which was externally identical with this Persian term, at once so common and so distinguished, and without the smallest hint from Persian usage applied it also to a month as the Iranians have done—a month being presumably as sacred an interval of time to the Babylonians as it was to the Iranians?*

Was it there used as a pure Syrian word "Adar" in a territory which may have been overrun by Persian influences at some immemorial epoch, (which is one of my present contentions), and which was at an early date soon after the first Exile actually known to have been so overrun, proving that this Iranian word may well have later crept into the earlier Hebrew texts in the ever-repeated recopying of manuscripts? Is it likely then that this term, universally used in Iranian for "fire," should have any other meaning when applied to a Syrian Deity, "fire" having universal claims to worship, an element which could not help, as we might almost say of it, be-

* See the word applied to a Syrian god in Palestine as reported not very long ago.

coming a god? And if the Syrian, Assyrian, or Babylonian word meant "fire" also, its Iranian origin is certain.⁴ See also Tēbeth, an Iranian word, which is also a Semitic month name, from Avesta, *tap*, "to burn," cp. Tābistan = "summer." Not to speak of Ab as again a month of "water," nor of Tishri as Tishtrya, Tishtar, being a prominent Persian star and later Sirius, *yet also with the others applied to a Persian month*; see even Khisleu which might easily recall Khashathra as contracted, a Parsi month, as "s"="t," "th," and "l" is easy for "r," etc. This point as regards Adar, we should say in passing, controls this situation here. If one Babylonian month name was Iranian, it is not sound criticism for us to hold to an isolated occurrence; "many or none" should be our principle. Even if, conceivably, the Iranian month names, all intensely native to Medo-Persian as they are, were later taken over from Babylon after having been previously adapted there from Iran in other applications—even upon the supposition that they, while wholly Iranian, had never before as yet been used in Iran as month names till they had been first so used in Babylon—notwithstanding this so singular presupposition, the fact would remain as clearly proved that these Iranian words had singular power in Babylon at an extremely early date. These considerations taken all together almost make us credit the old opinions of a once paramount semi-Iranian influence in Babylon or in pre-Babylonian times as being intimately associated with the intellectual elements of Akad and Sumer.* And this, as we should never forget, was also *a priori* more than probable; for Iran could not have developed even to the position occupied by the first Achæmenid except during the course of some centuries and without having made its energetic influence often felt upon neighboring states.

* Look at Apsu as plain Iranian; Aps with Semitic nominative suffix. See also Patesi, the name of an Akkadian ruler, Avesta Partish, etc.

There is one other serious point here which I would introduce as if in parentheses, though it may not seem to be immediately relevant; it is this. Some advanced scholars seem never to have become at all aware of such a fact as that all the Persian Ameshaspends with many of their satellites, whose names are used for the months and the days of the months, were likewise *Vedic*, though scattered and not numbered six or seven in the RIK; nor yet at all applied in the same way to the calendar. And this all the more connects the entire body of Iranian religious thought with the great southeastern Indian systems rather than with the southwestern Babylonian, for the Vedic is and was a veritable fellow-branch with the Iranian in one and the same vast primeval faith. But this circumstance also imparts immensely greater solidity to the entire structure of the Iranian religious system, showing it to possess a predominant objectivity, which together with its incisive clearness naturally impressed itself upon its neighbor the Assyrian. As we shall be obliged later on to bring in facts which postdate the New Testament and which yet exercise a very important influence upon the issues of this discussion, (see below), we must continue on our preliminary remarks one step further here and refer to some post-Christian elements.

Much additional information of an interior character has been collected by Kohut out of the various early sections of the Talmud, some of it dating so early as before A. D. 226. Prominent among these particulars, and as in analogy with the general Persian atmosphere of the Exile period noted above, would be the favored condition of the Jews under the Parthian Arsacids, which would be available as a point so far back, let us say, as 150 A. D. at least;* and perhaps the still more incisive manifestation of

* Their political representative, the Exile arch, ranked fourth after the sovereign. See Kohut's citation.

disfavor under the Sasanids, from 226 A. D. on, may be also highly valued for our purpose, for persecution⁴ sometimes* brings out details of intellectual connection more sharply even than sympathetic treatment.† Next to this and as again parallel to what is above cited, Kohut, with a very fair degree of probability indeed, sees Haurvatāt and Ameretatāt in later but still early portions of the Talmud; while the Cinvat Bridge is clearly mentioned somewhere also, though here I can quote only from memory, the very striking particulars of Yasht XXII appear. And what shall we say to the somewhat late but most certain existence of Avesta Būt, Mūsh, and the Ashemaogha? Then still later we have also Talmudic Mittron possibly for Mithra, ur-iel for Hvare-nah, etc., etc.‡ If these items, thus as it were hastily inserted before our more extended discussion, possess any validity at all, then they should already produce an incipient conviction in our minds and so at once begin to make us believe all the acutely interesting and solemn facts involved in the partially approximate identity of the Persian and Israelitish Exilic lores.

After the above preliminary items which I trust may be considered incontestable, as proving *prima facie* the connection between the Exilic Jewish religious literature and that of the Iranians, the first particular in the division of the subject would be the name and conception of the Supreme Being; then, those of his supernatural personified creatures: the conception of his eternity in general, to-

* If not as the general rule.

† At the festivals especially held to the Fire the Persian authorities entered the dwellings of the Jews, and put out all the lights; and so at the festivals in honor of the holy waters they deprived them of its use. See Kohut's citations.

‡ Aspiration comes and goes; see Kohut everywhere, "ur-" might well be "Hur"—and this easily "Hvar." Those who criticise Kohut too freely should remember that one has to be a critic to criticise a critic. Much that is sagacious is utterly lost upon non-experts. See "Jüdische Angelologie," *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. IV, 1866, by A. Kohut. See also his successors, N. Soderblom, Ernst Bloken, L. H. Gray, etc.

gether with angelic and human immortality; resurrection; judgment; millennial perfection and heaven; heaven and hell; and finally our conclusions as to what is really Zoroastrian, and as to what is really Exilic, and as to how far the Hebrew eschatology is original with Israel.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONCEPTION OF GOD AND THE TERMINOLOGY USED.

AMONG the names applied to the Supreme Being the expression "God of Heaven," also used in the alleged Edicts of Cyrus¹ and his Biblical successors (see 2 Chronicles, Ezra, etc.) appears to be certainly Exilic, even where it may now occur amidst matter formerly believed to be pre-Exilic. It recalls vividly the universal Aryan name Deva,² Zeus, Deus, Dieu, etc., for Deity, which in the Aryan vernacular was *Divá*, "the shining sky,"³ so D(a)eva, to Indian *div*. In Avesta and its sequents the fine term became unhappily inverted in its application owing to theological antipathies and jealousies, and was actually applied to demons through all Zoroastrian literature. But the Iranians themselves, as there can be little doubt, used "D(a)eva," originally in the holy sense, with all the rest of Arya, and the sad misuse is one proof more of the posteriority even of the early Avesta to the earliest Veda. Then the expression "living God" recalls the etymology of Ahura (Inscriptional Aura) the root being *Ahu* = "life" among other things; *-ra* is mere suffix. This singularly effective word is indeed applied to Ameshaspends, and even to a human spiritual Lord, and this in the oldest Avesta; but we are none the less entitled to think of "life" and the "living" One when we meet its well-nigh universal

¹ See Ezra i.

² So first suggested by me in *T. R. A. S.*

³ See Daniel.

application to the Supreme Deity, recalling also Vedic *ásura* and its equivalents (see above). Not long since a scholar would indeed have cited Yahveh as a Jewish analogon; and there is little doubt that the Jews themselves once mistook the word for the first person singular of the Hebrew verb meaning "to be." And this supervening and secondary understanding of the term, entirely aside from our restored modern explanations of it, quite fully suffices to establish an interior, if independent, analogy between it and Ahura. Analogies are often quite valid for the purpose of tracing the presence and connection of ideas here apart even from errors or misgrowths; for "connection" quite as often reveals itself in grotesque anomalies. See even the striking inscriptional expression "King of Kings" applied to God in Hebrew as well as to the Messiah and to Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel ii. 37): see it dwelt upon below, whereas in its signal occurrence upon Behistān it is used of Darius; yet this last insertion, though dating so late as B. C. 500, *circa*, clearly proves that the expression was predominantly Persian in its original application, for it is not possible that it could not have been used in Iran in the course of Iranian history centuries before it was applied in this same sense in the Inscription. And it therefore affords a strong additional proof of a connection of religious ideas. So we hear of the "Ancient of Days," which recalls *Zrvani akarane*, meaning "in boundless time": see the Vendidad XIX, an expression of much importance as savoring of philosophic speculation, but at another day (as possibly in the Bible⁴) it becomes a proper name for an Eternal Creator; we have even a sect of Zervanites. Yet this connection, though subjected to a twist, is valid in exactly the same manner, and deeply interesting. Moreover it must be clearly held in mind that a vast mass of analogies must be so estimated while yet cited: see on ahead,

⁴ See Daniel.

where no pretence whatsoever is to be put forward by me to any certain immediate literary connection. My⁴ objective, as already stated, is the existence of a post-Exilic intellectual atmosphere in Persian Babylonia, and so also in Persian Jerusalem, an atmosphere which was vital to the new religious aspirations of the Jews—in fact totally transforming them; and that this atmosphere was more Iranian than Babylonian; but much detail of an otherwise very inferior character goes to make firm our convictions as to this. It is often a question as to what may have circulated as mere hearsay.

Resuming,—we have again a firm clincher to the idea of eternity in the Deity as being an Iranian concept; and this is afforded by the name of the last Ameshaspend, Ameretatāt; recall “who only hath immortality”⁵ (Timothy vii. 16).

⁵ A curious expression for the Bible to make use of. It looks indeed as if “immortality” were a special title; otherwise what is the sense of it at all? Surely it is not a New Testament doctrine that no one but God has “immortality.”

CHAPTER III.

ANGELOLOGY WITH DEMONOLOGY.

a. Distinction in Personages.

ANGELIC personages become discriminated as to their rank as greater or less, in the Exilic and post-Exilic Scriptures, and this marks still further the interesting change in the religious history of Israel. In the genuine pre-Exilic period the angelology was extremely indefinite, having been even thought by some to be a mere theophany, at best a simple messenger-sending from the Deity without the supposition of any very distinct personal characteristics in the supernatural messenger himself. We find also naturally little trace of any very exceptional hyper-exaltations of individual angelic or demoniac spiritual beings aside from, and independent of, their use as conveyors of the Divine wishes upon particular occasions. But in the Exile not only are some of these concepts apparently selected to "surround the Throne," but individual beings appear in a most predominant attitude as "Prince" and "Prince of Princes." (See Daniel viii. 25): An especially prominent angel seems even intended to be represented as the agent in raising the dead, like the Saoshyants¹ of Iran: See Daniel xii. 1, 2: "At that time shall Michael stand up, the great Prince which standeth for thy people." See also the expression "Sons of God" after the Iranian idea

¹ He was himself not an angel, but the first recorded concept of a final Redeemer restoring all things; see elsewhere and below.

in Yasht XIII and elsewhere where the Iranian Archangels "have all one Father Ahura."

Whether the other two in Daniel xii. 5, 6, are to be reckoned as "Princes" is not certain, but the occurrences already mentioned suffice to show an exceptional eminence conceded to an exceedingly small number of these believed-in supernatural persons. Similarly see also Daniel x. 21, where Michael, "Your Prince," almost demands a like interpretation to the expressions "Prince of Persia," (see Daniel x. 13, 20), and even to the expressions "Prince of Grecia." If it is written:

"The Prince of the Kingdom of Persia withstood him, Daniel, one and twenty days,—and, lo,—Michael, one of your Princes, came to help me," then as Michael, the Prince was an Archangel, it would seem only fair for us to suppose that the term "Prince of Persia" may possibly have some inclusive allusion to a supernatural being notwithstanding the positive presence of Persian political personages in the connection; and so the expression "Prince of Grecia" must be somewhat accounted for in the same manner. Of course the word "Prince" here used has also its further and more natural application; and in fact it is quite possible that the entire use of the term "Prince" here as applied to the Archangels may have been first suggested by the necessary mention of the political Princes whose action forms here the subject under discussion. Again, on the contrary, the idea may have been led off by the very prominent position of the national Archangels of Media reckoned as "Princes," a leading one among them having actually the name of Khshathra which may be rendered "Sovereign" or "Prince"; so that, to be exhaustive, it is desirable to mention that even the "Prince of Grecia" in Daniel x. 13, 20, might point toward a semi-extinct angelology further west; but I fear we should be hardly warranted here.

*b. The Seven Spirits of God.*¹

It is in Zechariah, Tobit, and Revelations that a few of these more prominent concepts are spoken of as a company of seven; see where I have already necessarily indicated this by anticipation above, and what I shall say here should be regarded as being of the nature of necessary amplification. In the latter book this expression becomes frequent. Nothing could more accord with the Medo-Persian Zoroastrian usage, which may also have expressed itself with a prominence which spread and maintained the concepts everywhere within the vast Perso-Babylonian territory.

No one will suppose that I attach any especial importance to the number seven in itself considered, for it is of well-nigh universal application in Holy Scripture, possibly having had its real origin in the seven days of a week in a month of about twenty-eight days; but the application of this number to certain conspicuous believed-in angelic beings is quite another matter when we recall the Medo-Persian Ameshaspends which were so widely known. Here accidental coincidence would seem to be rigorously excluded by the facts which I have already instanced above, for the existence of the expression in close proximity to the name of a Gâthic Demon; see above, where an Avesta city more than once in the same document, places connection all the more fully beyond dispute. In Zechariah iv. 10, "the Seven Spirits which are as the eyes of the Lord and which run to and fro throughout the whole earth," not only recall the Seven Ameshaspends, but their activity, which is everywhere expressed, or implied in the Avesta as in the later Zoroastrianism; see also Satan's answer to God in the Introduction to Job, where he says: "I am come from running to, and fro in all the earth"; see it cited also

¹ This is one of the collections of evidence to which I promised to revert, entering into more extended detail.

elsewhere; and we have even the coincidence as to the "eyes of the Lord," the sun being the "eye of Ahura" in Avesta, as he is the eye of Varuna in the Veda; for though the sun was not an Ameshaspend, but merely exalted in a quasi-personification, yet our main object here, as said above, is literary coincidence or color which may be absolutely without interior correspondence and yet completely effective to show "connection."* In Rev. viii. 2, we have at once again "the seven spirits which are before the throne." Here the application of the same terms to the seven representatives of the Seven Churches (Rev. i. 20) should hardly be regarded as a serious objection, for these later expressions were evidently taken over from the earlier words, which, as we see, occur in Zechariah and Tobit. It would be moreover *a priori* highly improbable that the "seven spirits of God before His throne" should have been an idea finding its origin in the fact that there were seven Christian Bishops in Asia Minor who attracted the attention of the inspired author; see also below.

Notice moreover the very solemn expression "the seven spirits of God" in Rev. iii. 2 and 7, which not remotely recalls the still profounder revelations in the Avesta where an analogous passage attributes the "six" spirits to Ahura as a seventh. This occurrence moreover surpasses its Jewish imitations in one all-important particular; for these spirits were in so far really *God's* (that is to say, Ahura's) that they were literally the fundamental concepts not only of all religion, but of all possible moral existence, and so metaphorically indeed the very "Sons of God"; see below for amplification to this point, being also in a sense absolutely identical with Him, as the human attributes are identical with the human personal subjectivity. As regards Rev. iv. 5 (cp. also Zech. iv. 2, 10) I am not aware that the Zoroastrians had exactly seven lamps, or seven candle-

* Compare "the angel who took his part."

sticks, but the concept of the seven spirits pervaded the ideas of the writers, while fire (see above) was supreme as a sacrificial object; see also Rev. v. 7. In 8, the seven angels are again seen to stand before the throne recalling Job, where, however, the number is not mentioned (see Rev. viii. 6; xv. 1; xv. 6; xvi. 17; xvii. 11; xx. 19). The same deduction is everywhere in point, namely that while the concepts with their number "seven" are so very Jewish and Christian, they only appeared suddenly upon this Hebrew foreign soil as applied to particular personal spirits, whereas *they were immemorially native to Medo-Persian Zoroastrianism* which for centuries occupied the same territory which was both before and later by constraint invaded by the captives.² A further explanation of this crucial number seven should here intervene, and it will afford an all-important illustration as to the asserted facts upon which our entire procedure depends. For, like almost every other particular of the kind, it is not expected to go upon "all fours." Even the number itself wobbles, the seven being a post-Gâthic term, as is indeed the word *amesha*, (better *amersha*), meaning "immortal," as applied to the Seven; and it, the number seven, first of all includes Ahura. The Ameshaspentas without Him are merely six, whereas in one of the most important of all the passages, the Seven are all said to have "One Father," Ahura. But such irrationalities are universal in ancient religious literatures. The number seven struck its impression deep upon the Iranian mind, having its obvious origin in the number of the Ameshas (Immortals) with Ahura included, and once having gained a footing it twisted their terminology. The word seems later to have meant the Holy Group entirely aside from the actual accuracy of the figure.

That the names or the personified ideas themselves

² The places where the Israelitish captives were deposited and settled were "Assyria and the Cities of the Medes."

were purposely selected by the original authors to fit in with the already established sanctity of the number is less probable than *vice versa*, from the facts already just noticed; there is no idea of "seven" at all in the original documents, the Gāthas. We might indeed surmise that an originally prevailing sanctity of such a number among the Irano-Aryan tribes, having returned more vividly to the consciousness of the later Zoroastrians, and also possibly having found its way in from without, they may then in the later but still genuine Avesta have adopted the term, fitting it into the fact that the "Six" with their Original, were indeed "Seven"; recall the Seven Karshvas,—but the probabilities lie totally on the other side of it. The sanctity of the Six with Ahura, the Seventh, or as the First of a Seven, was of the most exalted and effective character possible, affording among the Iranians at least and their descendants whether actual or merely intellectual, an all-sufficient reason for the excessive veneration for the number, as usual on rational grounds; for what reasons for the sanctification of any such figure could at all approach the fact that it expressed the number of the accepted, or recognized attributes of the Supreme Deity? And even if the glimmer of the idea of Seven did indeed revive from an earlier Iranian-Indian origin, or even, if it did later creep in from abroad; yet even then it was obviously, notoriously, and almost exclusively appropriated by the unconscious facts of the Iranian theological situation. No one who reads the Gāthas with any receptive capacity at all could imagine that those Six were especially worked out to coincide with the superficial and indeed artificial sanctity of any number elsewhere superstitiously adored. If that had been the case Seven would undoubtedly have been mentioned in them, the Gāthas. If the number "seven" had any very especial sanctity in the pre-Gāthic period that sanctity may have been pur-

posely nursed from religious motives, and it may have exerted a quiet influence even in the Gāthic period, but in no degree such a powerful and dominant influence as it exerted in all subsequent Iranian history.

Nothing is more pressingly important to all our constructive conjectures than to recall this principle at every step. Hardly an item, except these first cited, presents a mechanically exact correspondence. Another excellent example should be noted merely for the sake of emphasizing our illustration. Aramaiti is rhetorically termed "God's daughter" in several places, and "His wife" in another. So Mithra is almost His fellow-God at times, and yet His creature at others. In more than one place Ahura actually sacrifices to Mithra and others of His sub-deities, just as a courteous sovereign would never formally address a nobleman without using his title. Ancient Gods also universally borrow each other's attributes, and in pursuing scientific discriminations as to these points the expert must note which god is *predominant* in the possession of certain characteristics. Periods of transition also occur during which each leading god usurps or inherits the accredited deeds or powers of the others; and there are often distinctly marked epochs, where One God, as represented by his followers, seems almost to wrangle for an attribute with a waning predecessor.³

Periods of the prevailing ascendancy of one God also overlap upon those of another.

c. The Naming of the Archangels.

While such a culmination was most possible as an entirely independent Jewish growth in parallel lines with that in the Zoroastrian scriptures, yet in presence of the immemorial Avestic and Vedic use, one at once recognizes the influence of the new Persian scene. The

³ See Indra as he supplants his predecessors in R. V.

Jews, being Persian subjects, were perforce upon the most intimate political terms with many of the Persian officials, and they could not meet and converse religiously with any Persian - Babylonian acquaintance from Media, without hearing at every sentence the name of an Archangel, for these fine believed-in supernatural personages later gave the very names to the months and days,⁴ and this usage may well have begun at a date which would here come in; and they were often used in the course of the day in private devotion. Their names also occurred often in private proper names, the Greeks themselves becoming aware of them (see below). What wonder then that they began, though at first quite unconsciously, not only to construct intellectually their own personified religious concepts, and upon the same model as those of the Iranians (see above), but to *name* them as well, after the same fashion which was ever upon the lips of their political and social allies.

"The man Gabriel being caused to fly swiftly," etc. (Daniel) may be taken as a leading illustration. The few Zoroastrian "Immortals," unlike even their first imitations in Zech. iv, dispense with the supernatural limbs of locomotion, and especially with contra-anatomical growths for ærial excursion, but Gabriel, "Man of God," at once recalls the fact that Vohumanah represents precisely "the man of God" even in the Gāthas, not etymologically of course; and in the Vendidad he represents him in a manner so emphatic that there Vohu Manah, as representing the well-conducted citizen, may even be "defiled" through some impure physical contamination (see below); and we

⁴ Not only were many of the months named after them and their underlings; but the days of the month as well. Everything rang with the terms, so to speak, not excepting sometimes the proper names of the most eminent persons; for instance in such a word as Artaxerxes we have the names of two of the immortals,—Arta, which equalled Asha, and Khshathra; the prayer hours of the day, later five in number involved the constant recalling of the names.

should not fail to add that the Zoroastrian angels have also a "flight" in descending to the believer, but as ever in the more refined form of rhetorical imagery rather than in that of muscular delineation.⁵ So when the leading priests in Persian Babylon began to think out for themselves Archangelic personages they would naturally give some such names as we have recorded; and so Michael "who like God?" appeared. We have noticed Gabriel as recalling Vohuman; but he also recalls the exploits of many an Iranian Angel, Sraosha in particular, though he, Sraosha, was certainly not at first recognized as an Amesha, yet he succeeded in pushing some of these leading forms aside in his progress as a defender. So in Revelations there was "war" in heaven and Michael the Prince contended with the Devil in Jude, just as Sraosha pre-eminently vanquished Angra-Mainyus. But we must not go further before we recall and further explain the incisive circumstance that the Zoroastrian names differ radically and transcend immensely the Biblical ones in an all-important particular, already touched upon above, for whereas the Jewish expressions depict with color fine poetical images, the Zoroastrian terms express the first internal elements of the mental universe; see above and in the following remarks. *Vohu manah*, while used for the "orthodox saint," means distinctly *bona mens*; they may be the same words indeed in another form; *manah* is of course *mens*. Asha is "the law," the "idea of consecutive order," the "truth pre-eminent" in every germ; Khshathra, the sovereign power, comes in also as if with conscious logic; compare both the Gāthic and the Lord's prayer;⁶ in the first we have "Thine is the kingdom," as in the last, with no very probable immediate literary connection; it is the idea of sacred authoritative force; Aramaiti is the psychic energy of purpose,

⁵ Yt. xiii. 84, 84.

⁶ See Yasna LIII, 7: "For 'thine is the kingdom' through which Thou wilt give. . . . to the right-living poor."

"the toiling Mind,"⁷ while Haurvatāt is the completeness of Deity, conferring full weal and chiefly health upon His "good" creatures, and Ameretatāt is literally "immortality," the two forms of exactly the same word. As approaching this we have such expressions as "The Amen"; see the Asha = Truth. Descending to the minor concepts; see above my allusions to "Hvarenah," etc. In addition to this we may recall the fact that Raphael, one of the Jewish Archangels, is actually declared to be "One of the Seven Spirits" in the Tale of Tobit which almost centers about the chief Zoroastrian city Ragha.

*d. Iranian Names Suggested Where Neither They
Nor Any Semitic Equivalents Actually Appear.*

While Michael and Gabriel are in evidence on the Semitic side and "God of Heaven" has been cited as possibly an Aryan element amidst the throng of Semitic terms, we may proceed to notice such an expression as that in Daniel ii. 11, "whose dwellings are not in the flesh." This would be an advance upon earlier concepts where the bodily figure of Yahveh Elohim is plainly referred to; and these finer ideas arose under the stimulus of the Exile, anthropomorphic modes of thought having been much shaken off, not necessarily at all in imitation of Persian modes of expression. For even in the Gāthas, a vision of Ahura is sought for, though a vision of Ahura as manifested in a bodily form would indeed introduce an element into the Gāthas directly in conflict with one of its leading distinctions, that between the "bodily" and the "mental" worlds. In the later Yasna, however, we have His "Body," though everything points to a merely rhetorical (xx. 2) usage here as in the post-Avestic Zoroastrianism, though I do not feel that the post-Gāthic Zoroastrians would have objected much to God's body, if they could only have managed the idea of it; and it

⁷ I refer *ar* to *ar* = "to plough" cp. *aratum*.

would have been easy enough to add the adjective "spiritual" before such a noun as "body." A "God of Gods" (Daniel ii. 47) recalls again the inscriptional turn of words "King of Kings" and also its actual sentence "greatest of all the Gods," the Creator both of the Immortals and of Mithra; see below. Strangely enough Adar, the angel of fire, is most significantly indicated in Daniel iii. 25: "The fourth figure walking in the super-heated furnace is like unto a son of the gods." But "Son of God," i. e., of Ahura, was precisely a most noted and ever iterated title of the fire, as somewhat dimly personified in the later but still genuine Avesta. The spirit of the Holy Gods, in Daniel iv. 9, recalls again the Spenishta Mainyu, the most Holy Spirit, so the most; I prefer, the "most August Spirit." In the Avesta this "most August Spirit" is a curious growth out of the concept Ahura, much like that of the Holy Spirit in the Exilic Scriptures. It seems to be a sort of attribute at first; and then perhaps it edged its way into personification, as so often with similar ideas. The "watcher and the Holy One" of Daniel iv. 13 suggest Sraosha who "never slept since the two Spirits made the worlds; three times of the night and day" he attacks the enemy and defends the souls of the faithful. The "coming down from Heaven" (same verse) suggests the Six in Yasht XIII, where we have, "shining are their paths as they come down to the faithful." In Daniel iv. 17, the demands "by the words of the Holy Ones" again suggest the Seven; they all, constructively, watch and speak; and see "the Spirit of the Holy Gods" again with "Spenishta Mainyu" as its counterpart.

The reader has long since, let us hope, fully seen the pointing of our procedure. While hardly a single instance here cited shows any absolutely certain immediate and definite external literary connection with Avesta, yet *the duty continually grows upon us to gather up not only*

*the more prominent evidences of interior connection arising from parallel development, but the entire mass of them; for they undoubtedly accumulate force if only slowly, and they build up a structure of comparative theological doctrine which demands a universal recognition; and as it gains a hearing, it gradually but surely substantiates the Zoroastrian-Israelitish historical connection as well. To resume—see “the watchers” like Sraosha again at Daniel iv. 23. The talk of “the kingdoms” is again original, and yet it again suggests Avesta Khshathra; see by anticipation the “care of the poor”⁸ (iv. 27) cited from the Gāthas above and below. This idea occurs more than once in the Gāthas and also in the Ahuna Vairya. The “most high ruling” suggests “Ahura as king.” See the “Spirit of the Holy Gods” still once more again in Daniel iv. 34. In v. 20 “the Glory taken away” from the monarch, suggests the Hvarenah of the Kavis as elsewhere. This latter, however, eluded seizure; see the Yashts. The word *Satrap*⁹ of vi. 7 is pure Persian of course; cp. *khshathrapavan*, though the Archangel Khshathra was not here at all directly thought of.*

The “Living God” (vi. 26) again suggests the same thoughts which originally determined the word Ahura; see above. See also “The Ancient of Days” again, which, aside from that most significant expression “in Boundless Time”¹⁰ recalls Ahura as he who is “the same at every now” ; recall “the same, yesterday, to-day and for ever.”¹¹ All the expressions in vii. 14 recall the Spirit of the new Persian - Babylonian religious thought, “indestructible kingdom” being also familiar to both. Most curiously both

⁸ The “care of the poor” was a marked Gāthic idea; and in spite of a despotic government, if not in consequence of it, the “poor” seem always to have had some special privileges in Persia as against the aristocracy.

⁹ Darius’s father was one of his son’s Satraps.

¹⁰ Recall the Greek Chronos.

¹¹ See above where “Boundless Time” itself became a deity and a creator.

the ram and the he-goat of 8, appear in the Yasht to Victory, a brilliant Avesta piece, and likewise in the same order, with the ram first. Notice Gabriel's, "the man's voice," of viii. 16, the Prince of Princes of viii. 25 which ought always to suggest Vohu Manah, while Asha, who secured the first place among the Archangels, was later, as already stated, rudely pushed off the stage of action by Sraosha who is also elsewhere metaphorically aggressive. "Righteousness belongeth unto Thee," originally arose from the same impulsive convictions which attributed Asha, the Holy Legal Truth, to Ahura. So Vohumanah was really "mercy"; see ix. 9. In ix. 10, "not obeying" arose from the same psychic forces which evoked the condemnation of *ascroasha*, non-obedience in Y, LX, 9, 11. There was also a "curse" almost personified in Avesta. "The Lord watching over evil" (ix. 14) recalls Isaiah xiv. 7, in contradiction to the implication that God did not create sin, while, on the contrary, Ahura was thus limited. See again "all the Righteousness of God," (ix. 16), recalling the Asha of Ahura.

"Hearken, hear, and incline Thine ear," (ix. 18), are emphatic and iterated Gāthic ideas and words, and the first conception of Sraosha is "God's ear." So are "hear and forgive";* so also "bringing in everlasting righteousness" (Daniel ix. 24) is very Avestic as the first essential idea of *Frashakart*¹² without which the supernatural beatifications comprised within that engaging hope would be of no effect; cp. "no envy Demon-made." Daniel x: the Yashts are full of "war"¹³ as are indeed the Gāthas, these last have however no pictorial personifications to correspond. I cannot say what Aryan angel is suggested by "the man clothed in linen," though as already said, Vohumanah,

* Y. XXXII, 11. •

¹² Millennial Perfection.

¹³ Cp. Yt. XIX, 1, where Ahura himself takes part.

representing "man," recalls Gabriel. In x. 11, "He comes" like Vohuman, so repeatedly in Y. XLIII; see x. 18, the same motives inducing both descriptive manifestations. In xi. 2 the "truth" is again Asha.

In xi. 16 "doing according to His will" emphatically recalls the very characteristic and repeated expression of Avesta, "using power according to His will"; see also the *vasiy*¹⁴ of the Inscription; see also Khshathra again as the "Divine Rule" (xi. 17). I do not know what to suggest with regard to the other two angels of Daniel xii. 5.

e. Unnamed Semitic Angels With Aryan Analogies.

The Angel in Rev. i who leads and conducts the narrator was suggested by the same idea as determined Sraosha to a similar office in the Book of the Artā-i-Virāf of the later Zoroastrianism; see also Y. XXVIII, 5, of the Gāthas; so "in the spirit" (Rev. i. 10) is very Zoroastrian, though not exactly in the pointed sense. Artā-i-Virāf, however, was "in the spirit" much after the fashion of St. John, though in his case (Artā-i-Virāf's) this took place with the assistance of a drug. There is also a prominent book called the "Spirit of Wisdom."

"Writing in a book" reminds us that Zoroastrianism with Judaism was one of the very few prominent book-religions. The Son of Man again, as in Daniel, recalls Vohuman who represented "man."¹⁵ In Rev. i. 16, the "sword from the mouth" suggests the weapon of Sraosha which was emphatically "the Word of God," the Honover of Avesta.¹⁶ In Rev. i. 17, "the first and the last" sounds like a keynote of the Avesta, though there the Devil shared this primordial eternal existence. There were "two first spirits": see also the word *ap(a)ourvyan*, "having no first"; that is to

¹⁴ Meaning "at will," "with complete sway."

¹⁵ See above.

¹⁶ See Yasna XIX.

say, "having none before it," which qualifies the superexcellence of the chants; see below on the "new song." Yet some expositors might well apply the term grammatically to Mazda Ahura. In Rev. i. 18 the "Living One" again recalls Ahu-ra; see above, here, however, apparently referring to the risen Jesus, whereas in Daniel the Deity is held in view.

The description of the seven stars as the "seven angels of the seven churches" (Rev. i. 20) by no means annihilates, but rather on the contrary assists our contention as to the analogies. The idea and the words as already stated, were taken over from the seven angels before "the throne." The reversed direction would be quaint indeed.¹⁷ The human Angels were addressed in the terms of common parlance. "I know thy works" (ii. 2) expresses the essence of Zoroastrian judgment; see the first strophe of the Gāthas. The "tree of life" (ii. 7) reminds one of Ameretatāt, which represented both never dying life, and later the vegetable kingdom which supported it, whereas in Genesis it recalls the vine with its supposed supernatural excitations, for which compare the Hōm Yasht which celebrates the same sacred influence, "he that hath an ear to hear" (ii. 11) is again so significant in the Avesta that it has an especial angel. Sraosha, to represent it; see also the Yasna, where "Hear ye these things with the ears," twice introduces the most solemn and far-reaching of all the doctrines. He who was dead and is alive again" (Rev. ii. 8), recalls the realization of the ideas which lurk in Ameretatāt and are expressed fully elsewhere; see below. The intervention of the Satanic opposition (ii. 9) is everywhere marked in Zoroastrianism, where it was first recognized; but the details of the Semitic allusions are here the most pointed.

¹⁷ As if the idea of "the seven spirits of God" was derived from the idea of the seven Bishops.

Periods of trial (ii. 10) are familiar throughout Zoroastrianism, and the keynote of all is final victory, certainly at least for the elect. "The crown of life" (ii. 10) is far more poetical than the mere immortality of the Avesta, though victory abounds in the latter. Satan's throne (ii. 13) is not positively an Avestic expression; but the counterparts to Vendidad XIX, 32 (105), and Yasht XXII, have been lost; there "evil" thrones are due to offset the holier ones. We are also reminded of the top of Arezura, V. XIX. 45 (w) where the choice of spirits of the infernal world converge, doubtless under the presidency of their chief. In Rev. ii. 13, "Satan's dwelling" recalls strikingly the abode of the Druj, Y. XLVI, XLIX, the Devil's eldest daughter, almost himself. Idol-worship (ii. 14) is one of the chief things condemned at the judgment of the Zoroastrians. In ii. 17, the "Spirit" recalls again the "most Holy," or "August Spirit" of the Gāthas exactly in analogy with the Holy Spirit of the Old and New Testaments, with no immediate literary connection. The hidden manna, (Rev. ii. 17) also somewhat dimly recalls the immortal food of the Zoroastrian "Heaven," the Holy Oil of the beatified. "The Son of God," who has "eyes like a flame of fire" and feet like "burnished" and so "fiery brass" again recalls our Adar also represented in Avesta under the rhetorical image of personification. And we notice once again that the fire was "God's son," the expression often occurring. Rev. ii. 19, again recalls the first verse of the Gātha, "all works done with Asha." Both Zoroastrianism and Rev. ii. 20 are severe upon the harlot. In ii. 23, one "which searcheth the heart" recalls "on all with the truth (i. e., searchingly) Thou art gazing." The "Son of God" as "benevolent" sympathy (Rev. ii. 19) recalls the noted expression in the Gāthas, "with Asha in sympathy," as also that which reports "the love of Ahura Mazda." "The depths of Satan" (ii. 24) recall the "things

hidden" of Yasna XXXI. "Behold I come quickly" (Rev. ii. 16) recalls the Gāthic expression "swift be it" (the issue) as addressed to Ahura. Here we have as so often no immediate literary connection, but the two ideas were determined by the same psychological moment.

Vohumanah distinctly recalls the "beginning of the creation of God" (iii. 14) as he was supposed to be the "first¹⁸ made of every creature," not, however, an Avestic expression. See the "Amen" again for Asha in a most solemn and heart-touching sense from interior parallel development.

"He that overcometh" (Rev. iii. 21) is again very Zoroastrian of "Victory." In iii. 21, the sitting upon the throne again recalls the scene in the Vendidād. The four and twenty elders on thrones (iv. 4) or round about the throne are exactly the Immortals in Vendidād though the number there in V. is but a fourth of them; see below. Vohu Manah seems to sit down, if not *with* Ahura on His throne, V. XIX, 132 (105), yet upon a throne in His near vicinity; recall where the Son of Man sits upon the throne of His Glory (Vohu Manah also representing the religious man in Avesta, as to which see below); the Deity also presumably presided. So the seven lamps of fire, (4, 5) have been already mentioned as a manifestation of the angel Atar (Adar). In iv. 6 the living creature full of eyes seems distinctly motivated by Mithra with his 1000 eyes (see also Ezekiel). The especial homage to God as "the Creator" (iv. 11) is perhaps more constantly present in Zoroastrianism than in any other lore (see also the Inscriptions). "Glory" in iv. 11 again recalls Hvarenah and its angel; see Power equalling Khshathra again. "Because of thy will" (iv. 11) is again very Avestic and inscriptional both as applied to Ahura and His saints.

¹⁸ Vohumanah worked his way to the fore on account of his meaning which was "Benevolence."

"Power" is again Khshathra (v. 12). "Riches" is Ashi Vanguhi; "wisdom" may be Aramaiti; "glory" again is Hvarenah. The "white horse" of vi. 2 is a striking symbol in the Yasht to victory; see also "conquering and to conquer." The "bow" was pre-eminently the Persian weapon, baffling the Romans in many an encounter,¹⁹ the "horse that was red" (vi. 4) recalls again the Avesta with the varying color; and so the "black horse" (vi. 5), all presumably in the sky, or on some conspicuous elevation. The angel of the Abyss (ix. 11) is Angra Mainyu, or his agent, ("face downward are the D(a)evas"). Recall Ezek. viii. 16 and the "twenty-five men with their backs to the temple as they worshiped the sun," pure Zoroastrianism, or the like. The "beast coming up out of the abyss," (Rev. xi. 7) recalls again the demon Angra Mainyu, who among his myrmidons certainly fled to Hell, which was situated in a downward direction; see in Vendidad; see also Artā-i-Virāf. "After three days and a half" (xi. 9) vividly recalls the idea of the period during which the soul lingers around the body in Yasht, XXII; see also the approximately similar borrowed Muhammedan belief. (It would seem to be profane to mention the "three days" of the Gospels.)

Passing over much interesting and apposite detail we have in Rev. xii. 7 the "war in Heaven," elsewhere also often mentioned, which precisely in this connection recalls the war of Apaosha in the Yasht, whose enemy was then as now well thought to be drought, the great enemy of man in torrid climates; this point in Avesta is again rational.

"The Deceiver of the world" (xii. 9) is beyond all doubt a Zoroastrian idea of the Devil, whose central product was the Lie-Druj (female demon). "The kingdom of our God" (xii. 10) recalls again of course "Thine is the

¹⁹ The supply of arrows was furnished in camel loads and almost inexhaustible.

kingdom" in the Gātha; the expression of Royal authority *par excellence*, is Khshathra. This "Reign of God" is again pre-eminently Khshathra who was Ahura's attribute: "the temple of God which is in heaven" (xi. 19) recalls the same idea of celestial supernatural architecture in Avesta. The dragon of seven heads is, of course, the Azhi Dahāka of Avesta, the Ahi of the Veda, which both had six heads, the six being changed to seven in Revelation on account of the dominant influence of that number with possible reference to the Seven Hills of Rome.

Like the Vedic Ahi, he kept off the rain.²⁰ "The Devil having great wrath" (xii. 12) vividly reminds us of Aeshma, the demon of the *Raid Fury*, again quite a rational concept. There was also "an eagle" in the Avesta in the Yasht (xii. 14). The "worship of the dragon" (xiii. 4) was literally again suggested by that of the great rational Azhi Dahāka (see also the Veda) who showed his claim to be the greatest of the devils, coiling his folds about the rain clouds, the dripping cows of heaven. The "angel with the eternal Gospel" (xiv. 7) is the Sraosha with the Manthra; so only in strongest analogy, of course.

In xiv. 18, the angel who had power over fire is again distinctly an Atar whether directly and immediately so suggested, or by parallel development. In xv. 3, the "King of the Ages" again recalls *Zr̥vāna akarana*. "Boundless Time," which became a Deity; see the sect of the Zervanites already more than once noticed.

At xvi. 3, the angel that poured into the sea recalls the Goshpatshah of the Mainyu-i-Khard. In xvi. 13, the "unclean spirits like frogs" strikingly recall the fact that the frog was perhaps the most prominent among unclean beasts in Avesta. And let me also say here in passing that

²⁰ Notice in passing what I must refer to later on, which is the constant rationalism of the Avesta-Vedic concepts as against the Babylonian-Israelitish. One of the most marvelous of literary circumstances is that all the gods, or most of them, have meaning in Avesta, as in Veda and for the most part abstract meaning.

the Avesta alone affords rational explanation of the distinction between clean and unclean, from the fact that the Devil made the latter. Many animals (like indeed the very ones here in question, the frogs) were quite harmless except as regards some nocturnal voicings, and even used as choice food in some localities; but they were ostracized from the "pure creation," and solely because *their creator was the Iranian Satan*.

Notice again the "Lord of Lords and King of Kings" (xvii. 14). The "angel having great authority" (xviii. 1) is again a fine Khshathra, Ahura's Sovereign Power. The angel "with the great mill-stone" recalls the mythical Zoroaster who assaults the enemy with an enormous piece of rock, "large as a cottage," so some render. The Amen (xix. 4) is again always a good Asha, Ahura's "Law and Truth." In xix. 6, we have Ahura reigning, in 7, again the glory, Hvarenah. The "marriage of the Lamb" (xix. 9) recalls the figurative concept of the "wives of God," and again, the sacred feast of the Zoroastrian heaven. In xix. 11, we have a rare bit of Zoroastrian drawing. The "white horse" once more immediately suggests again the "white steed" of the Yasht to victory; see also the four-span white horses of Sraosha. The "faithful and true" one recalls the old Persian ideal (see Herodotus); it had its root in Asha. The "word of God" is again the Honover which was "before the world," and "the sword by which His angel slays" the Devil, so Zoroaster repels him in his "temptation" with it. The name upon his thigh is again our Aryan "King of Kings" of the Inscriptions, here fitting in especially because not applied to the Supreme Deity, as indeed also once in Daniel where as in the Persian Inscription it refers to a human potentate. In xix 17, we have the Hvare Khsh(a)-eta as the shining sun once more; recall again Ezekiel viii. 16, with "the five and twenty who, turning their backs to the temple, worshiped the sun." The Ezekiel passages

cannot be called pre-Exilic, nor, if they were genuinely of his date, can they be said to rank the Dacic Inscriptions, which were supposed to be somewhat later; for, while it is absolutely certain that the allusion to the sun-worshippers was motived by foreign influence upon the Jews, the expressions upon the Inscriptions as positively prove that they had long pre-existing native predecessors; or that they were even stereotyped formulas; see whole sentences mathematically repeated in the Inscriptions on Behistān and on those elsewhere which were later than Darius. This proves almost conclusively that Darius's terms were formulas long since used also by his predecessors as well, so that an inscriptional expression necessarily implies an earlier original in Iran; but the same argument does not hold with regard to the terms in Ezekiel to prove a prior Israelitish origin, because these latter were *distinctly of foreign origin*. We can not say in regard to those of Israel, as we can say of those of Behistān, that these ideas in Ezekiel must have had predecessors in Israel. For it seems to be distinctly acknowledged by all fair-minded and capable persons that the general cast of ideas as regards the eschatology and its kindred points existing in the time of the Exile and subsequently to it, was strikingly different from the tone of thought upon these subjects in the earlier Biblical literature. "Satan being bound a thousand years" (xx. 3. 5) rests broadly upon Zoroastrian Chiliasm; see Plutarch's account of it; see also the later Bundahesh which is a pure development from the earliest documents; see also below. The expression "a thousand years" occurs more than three times in the Avesta itself, and all the other features are likewise marked in it. Recall also the expressions cited by Plutarch from Theopompus(?).

The "Throne of God and of the Lamb" (xxii. 1) again recalls Ahura's throne with Vohu Manah. The angel sent

to show the revelation (xxii. 8) again recalls Sraosha both in Yasna XXVIII and in the Artā-i-Virāf. "The pure river of the water of life" (xxii. 1) makes us think at once of *Ardvi sūra Anāhita*, "the river lofty, heroic, (i. e., effective), and the spotless which purified all seed, and all generative production;" see also the other holy waters so constantly in evidence. Without laying the smallest stress upon any possible or probable immediate literary connection showing the influence of the Avesta in the above particulars cited from Ezekiel, Zechariah, Daniel and the Apocalypse, it is yet difficult to resist the conviction from the whole of them, that they conjointly indicate the intellectual and esthetic world in which the Exilic and post-Exilic Jews and Jewish Christians lived; and that this was dominated by the scenes and associations of the Perso-Babylonian Exile. But the Perso-Babylonian intellectual world was interpenetrated with the same type of conception and imagery which previously, or simultaneously, prevailed in the Median Zoroastrianism and in the religion of the Daric Achæmenian inscriptions; and the "captive exiles" are twice pointedly said to have been re-settled in the "Cities of the Medes" as well as in Assyria. If this were the case the priests of the people were in almost daily contact with highly ritualistic Zoroastrians or pre-Zoroastrians, if I might so express myself, Zoroastrianism being of course only a culmination. Even had they never met the Median priests, which is well-nigh impossible, the main tenets of Zoroastrianism were daily forced upon their notice through the laity, who had later five periods in the day for reciting prayers, and may have had them earlier. Here then was "contact" and in pre-eminence.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONCEPT OF ETERNITY IN GENERAL

THIS is now a convenient place for us to pause and recall the main Jewish Exilic and the Zoroastrian concepts of eternity in general, more closely considering them as applied to the supposed existence of the supernatural beings above discussed. As we have already conceded, the pre-Exilic concepts of futurity were extremely indistinct, but under the general inspiration of the Exile the other life began to take on its now familiar marked characteristics; see above. This has been our result so far.

Prominent among the expressions used would be "for ever and ever"; see Daniel ii. 4; ii. 44; the New Testament needs not to be cited. So that we have before us an entirely fresh *Dogmatik* as to this particular in their Exilic and post-Exilic documents.

But in the Avesta we have an "endless futurity" from the remotest inception of the lore and we have also in it, as we may well claim, the earliest expression of the idea in a refined literature and outside of barbaric assertions of it. This occurs in the oldest Avesta in such terms as *vispāi yāvōi*, "to all futurity," *yavactaitē*, "in the continuance, i. e., forever," as well as in the entire build and organic unity of the works which substantiate our claim for the Avesta that it is the first document of this concept. "Immortality" of another kind must have been thought of times without number wherever the human race appeared;

recall the common visions of the dead in cerebral hyper-action, as in dreams. In our natural anxiety to do justice to the initiative of the Avesta upon this particular, we must by no means make light of this.

Unquestionably indeed the thought of immortality in the Veda first acquired consistency from that of "long life" only, the "hundred autumns" of the Rik. The fact that the word for it is literally "immortality," *Ameretatāt*, the identical term, differing only in the suffix (see above), should by no means however decide the matter for us, as a beginner might so naturally suppose; for mere "long life" in this world, was certainly expressed by such a word as "non-death," just as by a curious anomaly "eternity" was, on the contrary, at times expressed by a word literally merely "long-life" as in the Veda; and there is some doubt that the term *dirghayu*—or read *dirghayo*—does not mean "Thou eternal" after all in the Gātha; see Y. XXVIII. Be this all in the fact of it as it may, the idea is constructively applied even in the Gāthas to Ahura as well as to His saints, and must therefore in such connections mean "long eternal life"¹ while in the next oldest book, the Haptanghaiti, the term *Amesha* (better *Amersha*, i. e., "immortal"; see above), is directly applied to the Archangels, in which case this word *Ameretatāt* must certainly mean at times something very different from "old age." As to human immortality, see everywhere; but as to the more pointed particulars of the subject, see below.

¹Certainly in Yasht, XIII, 83, where *Ameretatāt* has Ahura as her father.

CHAPTER V.

RESURRECTION.

ASIDE from the actual occurrence of such ideas as the number seven when applied to the Archangels of the Avesta and to those mentioned in the Exilic Semitic documents above cited, together with the other similar matters noted, nothing has been considered more effective for the establishment of analogies between the Exilic Bible and the Avesta than the passage Daniel xii. 9: "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."

The antecedent passage to it is in Isaiah xxvi. 19, and the strongest sequent is that of the well-known place in Rev. xx. 12. This recalls at once a dominant element in Zoroastrianism.

a. Resurrection in the Gātha.

In the Gāthas attention is rather turned to human immortality in the light of accountability, making them the earliest consistent documents of such a belief in a civilized literature, while corporeal resurrection is for the most part only implied throughout, as if it were regarded as a secondary matter. See, however, the expression "forever in the Druj's home their bodies lie." Here my colleagues, however, have laudably suggested another cast of meaning—"forever they are citizens of the Druj's abode." But

the Sanskrit *ast'i* which renders an *ast'ayah* (= "bodies") probable, corresponds well with Avesta *astayo* (*ast'ayah*) = "bodies," and "bodies," i. e., "persons." "Bodies in the house" is, I think, a more probable rendering than "citizens," particularly as the Druj's abode is equivalent to "Hell." "Citizens" of itself is a "good" term in Avesta just as the word for "augmentation" of itself almost implies "holiness," in ancient Parsi conceptions. "Citizens of Hell" is not therefore of itself a natural Avestic expression; for without further explanation we should understand the word "citizen" to imply normal good character,* so that my rendering above cited remains the most rational, and affords us the idea of "bodies" in the future world as does the later but still genuine Avesta; moreover, the evil souls receive evil food, endure darkness, hear evil speech, all of which, unless wholly figurative, implies bodily organs; and last of all it is a law of exegesis that the most objective rendering should be first suggested.

The Frashakart in the Gātha, like the idea of the Ameshaspendis, is so real, that it, like them,¹ has not yet secured a quasi-technical name there; so that we cannot pointedly bring it in; but this signal group of thoughts interpreted by the later Avesta implies a corporeal resurrection.

"May we be like those who bring on this world's perfection," alludes to the future millennial or ultimate beatific state, as to which see below.

b. Resurrection in the Later Avesta.

In the later Avesta we lose the dignity of the Gātha, but we gain more detail and color; see such passages as

* This is a distinction of the utmost critical importance. Many expressions in ancient books so notoriously convey the impression that the ideas involved in them were of themselves "favorable" and "affirmative" that we are almost at times constrained to restore an apparently improbable text in a sense adapted to this important characteristic.

¹ The terms *Amesha spenta* do not occur in the Gāthas, appearing first in the next earliest pieces.

“we sacrifice to the Kingly Glory which shall cleave unto the victorious Saoshyant (the One about to benefit, or to ‘save’) when he shall make the world progress unto perfection.”

Note again that this passage, although considered to be “late,” has not yet reached that period when this last idea of “progress to perfection” was represented by an especial name, a technical “Fraskakart”; for it is again clothed in language which still possesses internal significance of a fully vital character; as much so as in the fresh-making” of Yasna XXX. See Yasht XIX for the further form and color, “where it, the world, shall be never dying, not decaying, never rotting, ever living, ever useful (profit-making), having power to fulfil all wishes [a characteristic expression, meaning that ‘the world’s inhabitants will then be dominant’], when the dead shall arise and immortal life² shall come, when the settlements shall all be deathless.” See also fragment V of Westergaard: “Let Angra Mainyu, the Evil Spirit be hid beneath³ the earth;—let the D(a)evas disappear;—let the dead arise, and let bodily life be sustained in these now lifeless bodies.” Notice the absolute impossibility of merely “old age” as the meaning of “immortal” here.

c. In the Later Zoroastrianism.

In the Bundahesh, chap. XXXI, we have as follows:⁴
“On the nature of the resurrection it says in Revelations

¹This passage has always been held by thorough scholars to follow the Gāthas by a few centuries, but a tendency has been lately manifested to place the later Avesta some centuries after Christ, and this while the Gāthas themselves are still firmly held to be at least somewhat older than the Achæmenian inscriptions. But this would be to place a vast interval of time, more than a thousand years, between the original Avesta and its sequents, which seems to me to be rather irrational. The later Zoroastrianism is however a different matter. That of course post-dated the later Avesta, which intervenes between it, the later Zoroastrianism, and the Gāthas.

²Notice that Hell was downward.

⁴See *S. B. E.*, Vol. V, pp. 120 ff.

(referring formally, as we see, to once pre-existing documents as current lore. . . .) that. . . .in the millennium of Hushedarmāh (a supernaturally born posthumous son of Zarathushtra) the strength of appetite will diminish; they will first desist from meat and then from milk, then from water; and for ten years before Saoshyans they remain without food and do not die."

We notice at once the degeneration in the delineation from the terms of the genuine but later Avesta, how much more from that of the Gāthas. "After Saoshyans comes they prepare the rising of the dead; as it says that Zartūst asked of Auharmazd thus: 'Whence does a bodily form come again; and how does the resurrection occur?' [Compare the expression 'with what body do they come?']—And Auharmazd answered thus: 'When through me the sky arose from the substance of the ruby [it was supposed to be stony *coela ruunt*; cp. Y. XXVIII], and yet supported without columns, [see Y. XLIV, *avaṇas tōish*] on the spiritual support of far-compassed light [was fire also thought of?],—when through me the earth arose which bore the material life, and there is no maintainer of the worldly creation but it,—when by me the sun, moon, and stars are conducted in the firmament of luminous bodies;—when by me corn was created, so that, scattered about in the earth, it grew again and returned with increase; ['thou sowest not that body that shall be but naked grain'],—when by me color of various kinds was created in plants [flowers];—when by me fire was created in plants [vegetable caloric] without combustion;—when by me a son was created and fashioned in the womb of a mother and the structure severally of the skin, nails, blood, feet, eyes, and ears and other things was produced. . . . each one of these, when created by me, was herein more difficult than causing the *resurrection*, for it is an assistance to me in the resurrection that they exist, [i. e., they

exist actually on in their dissolution, resurrection being merely their re-construction] ; but when they were formed it was not the forming of the future out of the past, [as the resurrection will be], and so it, the resurrection, will be less formidable as an undertaking than the original creation.

“When that which did not at all previously exist was then produced, at the creation (out of nothing) why is it not possible to produce again, [re-construct] that which was come in an existing body; for at that time, the time of the resurrection, one will demand the bone from the spirit of the earth, i. e., from the dust [recall Ezekiel ‘bone to his bone,’ also Daniel’s ‘rising from the dust] the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, and the life from the fire, since they were delivered to them in the original creation [at death]. First the bones of Gayomard [the Iranian Adam] are raised up [‘the dead in Christ shall first arise’], then those of Mashyoi and Mashyoi, [the first human pair], then those of the rest of mankind. In the fifty-seven years of Sōshyans, they prepare all the dead, and all men arise [stand up], whoever is righteous and whoever is wicked, every human creature [‘I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God’];—they rouse them up from the spot where its life departs. Afterward when all material living beings assume again their bodies and forms, then they assign them each to a single class. Of the light accompanying the sun one-half shall be for Gayomard [‘there is one glory of the sun’] of the stars [‘Another glory of the stars’—‘one star differs from another star in glory’]; and one-half of the light will give enlightenment among the rest of men, so that the soul and body will know that is my father and this is my mother,etc.”

The Bundahesh is a very prominent work among the later Zoroastrian documents, and, as just implied, it post-dates Christianity by some hundreds of years. But the

expressions in Plutarch already alluded to, seem to indicate the prevalence of an almost exactly corresponding tone of thought as that of this later Zoroastrianism even as early as 100 to 300 B. C., and this strong eschatology is homogeneous in an unbroken chain with that of predecessors to the time of the Gāthas, whereas the Jewish doctrine of the later days was an innovation of the time of the Exile intended to console the captives who had lost their homes and their property; see above. The same remark applies to all other post-Christian Zoroastrian doctrines.

CHAPTER VI.

THE JUDGMENT IN DANIEL AND IN THE EXILIC AND POST-EXILIC THEOLOGY IN GENERAL; SUBJECTIVE RECOMPENSE.

THE next most important particular which demands attention would be the Day of Judgment, or rather "a day of judgment"; for, as this feature occurs in Daniel, it was primarily judgment upon the Beast (see Dan. vii. 9-14) who had persecuted the saints; see it supplemented by Revelations where the same original motive of vengeance is present, but where the act itself is represented as universal upon an assembled and risen mankind. So far as imagery is concerned, the Zoroastrian pales before its sequent, though Zoroastrianism shows a superior refinement and depth in one supreme particular; for not only does it concern itself more immediately and chiefly with the moral accountability and the future state than other systems of its date, but it offers the first well-certified occurrence of the great and crucial doctrine of Subjective Recompense, the idea that "virtue is its own reward, and vice its own punishment"; see below. Its awards were not exclusively of this character, and it might possibly be doubted whether the idea focussed itself in the thought that the fact of being "a sinner" was itself actually the doom and execution, or whether it first meant to suggest that the particular sins were in a way figuratively the personified executioners; but it is obvious that the one idea was not at all so very far distant from the other, and that

the first was certainly foreshadowed in the last and that indeed it inevitably led on the mind at the next step to it. Subjective recompense was also not of course the whole of the Zoroastrian Heaven and Hell; but it was the soul of them,—and this might be said to be almost the crowning glory of this entire scheme, curious as such a statement may at first sight of it appear to some of us to be.

a. The Judgment in the Gātha.

In Y. XLIII, 4 we have: “For so I conceived of three as August [with others ‘as Holy’], O Ahura Mazda, when I beheld Thee as supreme in the generation of life; when as rewarding deeds and words Thou didst establish evil for the evil, blest rewardings¹ for the good² by Thy just virtue³ in the creation’s final change.⁴ (6) In which (last) changing Thou shalt come and with Thine August Spirit [others, ‘and with Thy Holy Spirit’] and Thy Sovereign Power, O Ahura Mazda, by deeds of whom the settlements are furthered through the Righteous Order (of Thy Law); and (saving) regulations likewise unto these shall Aramaiti offer [Angel of the ready will],—yea laws of Thine understanding which no man may deceive.”⁵ In another key of rhythm in the Gātha Ahunavaiti we have at Y. XXX, 4:

“Then those Spirits created as first they two come together life and our death decreeing, and how the world at

¹ Hardly “riches” here.

² Notice the laws of judgment established from the foundations of the world, spoken of as if seen by reflective vision directed upon the original creation. Or are these preterits to be read in the sense of futures expressed in the sense of the improper conjunctive?

³ I prefer the original meaning in this ancient passage—as expressing the “justice” rather than the “wisdom” of God, for in the next verse “the omniscience” is given.

⁴ “Revolution” is hardly the meaning here; “the turning” was an expression for “the end,”; see other passages.

⁵ His judgment is infallible

the last shall be (ordered). For the Evil (as Hell) the worst⁶ life, but for the Holy the Best Mental (state)”

(8): “Then when Vengeance comes, Vengeance just upon the wretches. . . .” (10) “There on the Host of the Druj the blow of destruction descendeth, but swiftest in the abode of the good Mind gather the righteous; with Mazda and Asha they dwell, advancing in their good fame.”

Y. XXX, 11: “When long is the wound of the wicked and blessings the lot of the saint.”

Y. XXXI, 17: “And what debts are paid in justice for the offering of the Holy.—What is the wicked’s debt, and their portion what in the Judgment?”

Y. XXXI, 21: “He who deceives the saint for him shall at last be destruction—long life in the darkness his lot, vile⁶ his food, with revilings loathsome;—These be your world, O ye foul. By your deeds your own soul will bring it.”

XLVI, 7: “Karps, yea, and Kavis are with foul kings joining, deeds which are evil with man’s better life to slay;—cursed by their souls and selves, their being’s nature, when from the Judgment’s Bridge (they fall, the final pathway);—Ever in Demon’s home—their bodies⁷ lie.”

XLIX, 11: “Then evil rulers, evil-doers, evil speakers, those believing ill, and false men evil-minded, with evil food⁸ the souls to meet are coming. In Druj’s home at last their forms⁹ (abide)” [or “in Falsehood’s home at last the citizens(?) (they are)”].

Y. LI: “He who than good better giveth, He who ren-

⁶ Reproduced in the later Zoroastrianism.

⁷ More literally, “The K. and K. will join and with evil Kings, with evil rites and deeds, to slay the human life, whom (their) own souls and their own conscience will shriek at when they come where the Judgment Bridge (extends); for ever to all duration—their bodies, (lie) in the Druj’s Abode.”

⁸ This is a fragment of the original of Yasht XXII.

⁹ Or “as citizens(?) they are”; see above.

ders rewards for religion—is Ahura Mazda in His sovereign power; but He gives him worse than the evil—who does not impart offerings to Him—in the last end of the world.”

Y. LI: “What satisfaction thou shalt give through Thy red flame, O Mazda, give as a sign¹⁰ through the melted bronze [through the lake of fire] for both the worlds, [see verse 6] as an indication [or “implement”] for the wounding of the faithless and the prospering of the saint.”

These may suffice as expressions from the old Avesta, the Gāthas.

b. Judgment in the Later Avesta.

In the later Avesta at Vendidad XIX, we have: “O Maker of the material worlds, Thou Holy One, where are the awards given? Where does the rewarding take place? Where is the awarding fulfilled? Whither do men come for the reward which in their life in the material world they have made good for the soul?”

Some of the more dramatic features of the supernatural judicial scene which appear in our Holy Scriptures are absent from the Avesta, or have perished from it;—yet this is again made up by the extraordinary subjectivity, which is present everywhere; for in answer to the above the soul seems to judge itself, justifying or condemning itself in the same manner as we have just seen in the Gāthas, though this occurs on the sadder side of the matter, but even pleasing dramatic features intervene in this case in the later books Vendidad and Yasht XXII. For it, the soul (V. xix, 115) is met on the Chinvat Bridge, or at its entrance, by its own counterpart and is questioned by an image representing its conscience. A welcome which recalls the most touching passage in St. Matthew, (xxv.

¹⁰ So I now think to be possible in view of the Bundahish; see above.

36-37), meets it. It then proceeds upon its path toward the summit of Hara Berezaiti, (High Mountain), the name still surviving in Elburz in the territory at the southwest corner of the Caspian till a late period.

There the soul comes before the golden throne of Vohumanah, who strangely enough represents the "Holy Man" like the "Son of man" in the Gospels; see above;—and he, Vohumanah, is also indeed the Good Mind of God and of His saints personified, recalling our doctrine of the divinity of Christ, which represents Christ as being both God and man. He rises from his seat and greets the approaching saved man. One of the faithful beside Vohumanah, full of concern, asks him: "When didst thou come from that transitory world to this intransitory one? how long was thy salvation? . . ."

The passage is of course a mass of fragments and we are left without his answer, though Ahura courteously intervenes with the remonstrance: "Ask him not of that cruel way. . . ." The soul then passes on "contented," that is to say, beatified; "to the golden throne of Ahura Mazda—and to the golden thrones of the bountiful immortals, even to Garodmana, Heaven, the abode of sublimity or song, to the immortals and Ahura's home."

c. Judgment in the Later Zoroastrianism.

These delineations of Avesta are continued on the Bundahesh (say 500-700 A. D.) and in other works of the later Zoroastrianism, with little or no diminution in the subjectivity of the described occurrences. In the Bundahesh on p. 122, we have: "Then is the assembly of Sadvatar where all mankind will stand at this time."

In that assembly every one sees his own good deeds and his own evil deeds, and a wicked man becomes conspicuous as a white sheep (sic!) among the black. Afterwards they set the righteous man apart from the wicked,

and then the righteous is for Heaven, and they cast the wicked back to Hell; ("take him and cast him away in outer darkness"—darkness being a feature of the Zoroastrian Hell).

As it says on that day, when the righteous man is parted from the wicked, the tears of every one thereupon run down into his legs;—they weep, the righteous for the wicked, and the wicked for himself, etc.

In Daniel we have the fiery stream and the melted metal, and so we have the Lake of Fire in Revelations xx. 10, 14. In the Gāthas (Y. LI) we have "the melted bronze"¹¹ with no lake or river mentioned, but in the Bundahesh it is a river (p. 125), and it is there, as is usual with such matters in Zoroastrianism, rationally explained; for it results "from the melting of the mountains."

c. .1 Recurrence, for Illustration.

In leaving this department of the subject it will not be much amiss if I go back for a moment to the point above (see pp. 37 and 38), and call more fully to notice one most touching "element" in the analogies; see Yt. XXII, 7ff. and Vd. XIX, 30-32. We remember where our blessed Lord, not unlike Vohumanah, upon His throne, addresses His redeemed in judgment, saying: "Come ye blessed of my Father. . . . (Matt. xxv. 35) inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. . . . for. . . . I was a stranger and ye took me in," etc.; but the very same good deed is mentioned to the saved soul in the Avesta, and in the matter of essential thought in a manner still superior to that depicted in St. Matthew,—for here in Avesta it is the believer's conscience which addresses him. So in St. Matthew, as we have it further on, the bewildered soul inquires with pleased if startled wonder—"when saw

¹¹ So I now understand the passage, having formerly thought it could read literally, "as hammered bronze," referring to a sword blade.

I thee. . . . a stranger. . . . etc." Curiously enough we have again here the very same idea in what has been well called the most exquisite passage of the Avesta and already just above alluded to.

On its way to the Chinvat the soul first meets a fragrant zephyr loaded with aromas of a better land; and it asks: "What is this fragrance which is the most rich which my nostrils have ever grasped?" Here is beyond all doubt the element of gratified curiosity. . . . as in Matt. xxv. But this pleased wonder is again and more incisively expressed in the next scene immediately following, where the image is a holy maid who appears in the bloom of her beauty. The Soul asks as before: "Who art thou, O Maiden, who art the most beautiful whom my eyes have seen?"

And she who is his conscience answers: "I am verily, O youth, thy conscience, thy good thoughts and words and deeds, thy very own;" but, curiously enough, like the person in the Gospel he is again not yet at once convinced, but asks: "Who hath desired Thee hither with his love, [that is, invited thee,] coming with thy majesty, thy goodness, and thy beauty, triumphant and an enemy of grief?" And she answers: "It is thou, thou hast loved me—and desired¹² me hither, O youth, even thy good thoughts and words and deeds. For when thou sawest idol-worship thou didst desist. . . . chanting the Gāthas and sacrificing to the good waters and to Ahura Mazda's fire, *contenting* [*that is to say, 'showing hospitality to'*] *the righteous man* [*i. e., thy brother saint*] *who came to thee from near and from afar.*"

Here we have hospitality beyond a doubt fully and emphatically expressed in the words "coming from near and from afar";—and so in Matt. xxv, we have as cited above, "For I was a stranger and ye took me in". . . . In the Gospel, however, it is not in the very forefront, while in Avesta it is the chief moral good deed mentioned: "Coming from

¹² "Invited me."

near and from afar" might indeed refer to the pilgrims for high - festival occasions doubtless referred to in Yasna XXX, 1 and XLV, 1.

In either case, in both Gospel and Avesta, the soul is pleasingly bewildered, needing explanation as before: "When saw I thee a stranger?" in the Gospel; and in Avesta: "What is this fragrance?" and then, "What maiden art thou?"¹³ and then here once again as if expostulating, "Who hath desired thee hither?" or, as I should now render: "Who hath invited thee hither?"

"It is thus," she continues, [through thy good thoughts and words, and deeds, and by contenting the saint who came to thee from afar] "that thou hast made me who am lovely, still more lovely; I am beautiful and beatified; and thou hast made me still more beautiful and beatified; I am seated upon a higher seat, and thou hast made me still more exalted through thy good thoughts, and words, and deeds."—Totally aside from all possible and impossible literary connection, we certainly see in each case the same hesitating doubt with an affecting humility, and the same delighted satisfaction; and most singular of all from one of the same good deeds. It is from this on that the soul goes toward the golden thrones of Vohumanah, Ahura and the rest, as we saw above.

¹³ So before, "What wind is this?"

CHAPTER VII.

ZOROASTRIANISM IN ITS DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS

*The More Precise Sense in which the Term is Applied
Above.*

IT may seem to some of my readers that this conclusion of my short treatise is hardly the place in which to clinch an important distinction as regards the chief one of all the subjects brought into consideration here. And this final and all-inclusive point or disc, is indeed the entire question of the definite aspect in which we have intended to view Zoroastrianism throughout, and this is especially contrasted with its two sister, or rather with its two closely related, systems, not exclusively so of course, but perhaps fundamentally so—most certainly so, to a very striking manner and degree.

But I have on the contrary the impression that, after having done all that lay within my power to do to awaken interest and to show how the intellectual forces which I proposed to marshal might be thought to tell upon the decision, it might then offer a sort of final incisive effect if I gather up the force of what has been said, and more closely define this one of the principal factors brought into operation. What then, in a distinctive or exclusive definition of it, is this particular Zoroastrianism, the partial effects of which I have endeavored somewhat closely to trace in my few pages above? And of course I mean by the inquiry to define its two sister systems which have

been also necessarily brought to some degree into our view; for there exists, as might be expected, the 'most decided difference between the three, though "these variations do not touch" the primal characteristics of all.

The Avesta and the Veda.

As to the Indian Veda, which is certainly the nearest relative of the Avesta on the southern or south-eastern side, I need hardly say that we have here no serious cause to linger further, as I have dwelt upon it elsewhere in fuller terms. The common elements of both Veda and Avesta involved in such a review of them as this, are familiar; and they are also clear and definable;—but they were loosely scattered within the vast labyrinth of early lore which resembles rather an immense and florid forest, where the separated materials of both Avesta and Veda lay at hand, and from which both emerged, its home being far away from all contact with the southern land and up toward the north and north-west of Iran; while of the two the Avesta and Rig Veda, the Veda, let us concede it, far more closely resembles those original growths, (though so much more distant from the common original home) for the simple reason that there is more of it. A lore which is comparatively sparse, from that very fact cannot reproduce so many of the early features of its mother lore, as a sister branch can which is more voluminous. Veda, therefore, as a matter of course, shows more of the common original than Avesta. The Ameshaspends, chief concepts of Avesta, are there in the Veda as I have so fully shown in *Zarathushtra and the Greeks*, but they were by no means present as a quintessence of selected and especially venerated significant ideas. They are there also totally unconscious of their kinship either with each other or with the selected six of the Avesta; in fact they are ordinary

abstract thoughts personified at times indeed, but not distinctly grouped like those in Avesta, nor distinguished and exalted as they are in the Median lore, while one of them, and that one from the Iranian side, one of the most important, is merely the name of a late Vedic seer.

Outside of these few scattered concepts, noble and interesting as they must ever be, the differences as to the tone and substance are marked between the Avesta and the Rik. The highest gods of Veda seem to struggle in a throng to attain position above their colleagues; but this desired eminence is hardly the serious and solemn superiority occupied by the Iranian Ahura as he appears in the Avesta; nor does any one of them really arrive at such position as He seeks,—at least none of them reaches it to hold it;—southern imagination was too fervid, restless and creative. Southern life with its milder climates and swarming populations offered too wide an opportunity for both impassioned action, active conjecture, and vehement expression. Each great Deity has to defend his position against his on-coming rivals, one or more.

Zoroastrianism, that is to say, in its earlier form, that of the Gāthas, is, on the contrary, almost our modern system, startling indeed beyond most other things, even when regarded solely as a literary curiosity, with its supreme and refined good Deity and with its excluded Devil—which last idea was indeed one of the best of great suggestions ever made to rid our God of all complicity with crime.

The vile thing, by this doctrine of an “independent Satan,” is forever shut out from Him. Nowhere does the Veda show a trace of this; at least not definitely, while the Attributes are almost scattered as if lost amidst an interminable overgrowth;—so much for that relation with the Veda, so vitally essential as in its elements it is.

The Avesta and the Inscriptions.

But what of the Daric Inscriptions and their system, aside from what has been already said or implied above, where, as we see, the relation, so far as it at first presents itself, looks like identity out and out? And here I must pause to make a remark which is almost a stern reproach to science to be obliged to utter. It is that this question has never been put popularly into print and pressed home before, at least not in any effective and incisive way, though of course it must have been long since often loosely stated in scattered remarks and in many an essay.

As may be seen everywhere above, and in the larger work, the Daric Inscriptions are our great and only positive bridge of literary and historical connection between Israel and the Avesta; for they objectively form almost a constituent part of the Bible on the one side, and of the Avesta on the other; and perhaps of the two they stand closer to the early pre-Exilic Bible, curious as such a statement may at first sight appear to be. Surely no rational teacher of the Holy Scriptures can dwell on these striking Persian edicts in the Exilic Scriptures so vitally crucial as they are to all religious history, without at the same time eagerly scanning and deeply searching the Inscriptions of the very same imperial authorities on Behistān, Persepolis, etc. They possess, indeed, these last, and as of course, in common with the Avesta, that supreme feature, the presence of a God as the Creator of heaven and earth, so termed with a predominant iteration, and therefore they are conspicuously marked above all other documents of their kind ancient or modern. He, Auramazda, is upon those Inscriptions a Supreme Good Being whose memorable name was identical in very form with the Supreme God of the Avesta; and this gives us what most of all we need when we compare the terms of the two lores, the Daric

and the Iranian. Taken together with the devotional fervor of Darius expressed, as none such religious aspirations have ever been, in his ever repeated appeals and ascriptions of thankful adoration, these particulars constitute one of the most effective conjunctions of intellectual circumstances of their kind and nature ever recorded or pointed out;—but it is also of course to the last degree necessary to show the limits of these signal advantages in the comparison;—and here we have to lay down a principle which is strictly critical and unsparing. It is this: while it is in the first place certainly true beyond all reasonable question that there existed both a knowledge of the Avesta as a series of Medic documents, and also of its general main features on the part of the persons who dictated the texts from which the stone-cutters chiseled the Inscriptions of Behistān, etc., we are, nevertheless, forced to study our sculptured texts in those Inscriptions themselves and in them chiefly, if not in them alone, in order to find out what the creed of their composer was; for unless we positively assume that the now surviving Avesta furnishes the immediate background to the ideas expressed in the Inscriptions, then aside from those Inscriptions themselves, meagre as they must of necessity have been, we possess no such record of the detailed opinions of those authors, Darius and his successors, at all. While, indeed, taking into consideration the necessarily limited extent of the Inscriptions as literary matter, they might be regarded in some aspects of them as being almost the most prominent signal documents of all Monotheism, Creationism and of passionate personal devotion at their date, yet, for all that, they are by no means at all so near the Israelitish creed in the point of their doctrines as the Avesta is; and we cannot leave our subject until we make this clear.

The Dualism.

Strange as it may seem, we cannot even affirm from these majestic memorials alone (i. e., from the Texts of Behistān, etc.), that the priests of Darius actually held even to the more closely defined dualism of the Avesta, though they unquestionably held to the chief female demon who appears in it, and I believe that she or he, for the demon might be male(?) in the Inscriptions, has in the Daric creed, as in Avesta, a *Master*, for such systems are generally *pyramidal*; and that this Master corresponded to the Angra Mainyu of Avesta seems to be probable in the extreme; and if this was the case, then it was practically certain that he was one of the Two Original spirits; as he is so definitely stated to be in the North Persian writings. He may indeed not have been called by the full title “Angra Mainyu” in the lore of the Inscriptions, but by some modification of it. Or, again, he may have lost in the Achæmenian lore that independence of Auramazda which is of such vital moment in Avesta, just as under the form of Satan he lost it later in the Gospels, where he is completely (?) under the power of the Almighty, and this while he may have retained the name in full or modified.

Each of these possibilities, and any others that can be reasonably presented, must be taken into consideration by us, for such a question as this of the Dualism is, even when regarded as a side-issue, of the utmost interest as well as of the gravest importance as an intellectual religious circumstance; and in our serious endeavors to exploit the entire matter, we should here proceed with the utmost care and circumspection, with regard to it; for we should regard it as a positive certainty that there existed a mass of religious lore in Persia proper which has now been lost to us;—all surviving allusions to Mazda-worship

in Greek and Latin authors seeming to refer to the Medic or Zoroastrian form of it.

The Ameshaspends.

Nor can we say with certainty that those composers of the Inscriptions accepted the Ameshaspends; see above, though it is practically certain that they heard their names re-echoed on every side;¹ nor does the word "Deva" occur upon the Inscriptions; so that my readers must understand that, in bringing in the above Mazda-worship, I refer distinctly to the Avesta for my main points as to the detail of the Persian and Exilic eschatology, and not at all immediately to the Inscriptions in my main arguments, for it is in the Avesta, and in that alone, with its implied predecessors, that we have the acme of analogy with the Exilic Judaism. Nothing of its kind approaches it in this respect in the history of any religion with which I am acquainted, unless in cases where the one religion has been distinctly a descendant of the other; that is to say, nothing that is prominent and well assured. Avesta and the Exilic Bible should be to all conscientious searchers the question of the hour. So much for this.

What is Exilic?

But another matter indeed of an analogous character presses closely upon us with the implied demand to make it finally plain in the full scope of all our inferences.

We have been talking at every juncture of what is Exilic, pre-Exilic, and post-Exilic. But what do we really mean by it all? What is then really "Exilic" in a closer definition? The distinction is of course the one most vital of its kind of all that one can possibly make with regard to the Bible; and I have indeed necessarily foreshadowed everywhere what, I am now about more distinctly and more

¹ See my *Zarathushtra, the Achæmenids, and Israel*, at the places as per index.

fully to repeat, as it will be nearly essential for me to clinch what I have already said above by putting it in the clearest light and emphasis; for, like the other distinctions just made, it is seldom so pointedly presented as it ought to be in its full argumentative force.

Exilic and Pre-Exilic.

The matter in its closer point is this: We everywhere speak of the "Exilic Books"; but it is an obvious and pressing fact that much Exilic matter is present in many places in our at present so-called pre-Exilic texts; we might indeed be imperatively forced to doubt the uninfluenced existence of any pre-Exilic texts at all, for how could that primeval lore have been preserved intact; since all knowledge of important parts of it was even entirely lost in such a period as the reign of Josiah.² And in a discussion like this, Exilic matter, if it exists even at all in the Books which we have hitherto called pre-Exilic, becomes, if recognized, equally with the peculiar doctrinal elements of the later books, an almost supremely dominant factor.

What then are the particulars which thus control to a wide extent the situation here?

Perils of the Manuscripts.

It would be like trifling with it for us to ask whether any persons of credit anywhere suppose that the Hebrew Bible has been miraculously preserved, or preserved otherwise than in the usual manner, according to the regular laws of nature. We may therefore take it at once for granted that all serious readers here believe that the texts of the Old Testament and New Testament have been handed down to us in manuscripts—like all other ancient documents of their kind,—and it is indeed a circumstance marvelous enough that they, or any other ancient docu-

² 2 Kings xxii. 8. See the impression produced by the finding of the Book of the Law in the Temple even in that enlightened reign.

ment at all, have been handed down to us in any form; for the continuous life of ancient books before the art of printing is indeed as strange a phenomenon as the re-appearance of plants or animals in separated continents divided by water from the rest of the world. So, even of our Holy Scriptures, one would suppose that a single breath of war or political agitation would literally shake what is preserved in brittle manuscripts almost to irrecoverable fragments; and undoubtedly every convulsion, such as a campaign or an exilic deportation, has diminished the volume of these precious objects which have however lived on in their mysterious pertinacity. Schools of copyists existed everywhere, of course, as well as individual skilled penmen. The scribes were obviously closely occupied in every center of religious learning as an essential element, and some of them in every detached community must have been charged with the especial care of the sacred rolls. And if this were the case while the Temple still stood, how much more must it have been the case in the keen religious revivals of the Exile? Then, as we have already seen, the avalanche of sorrows which first stupified, then infuriated, and at last reformed the holy race, made them search all the more solemnly their religious scriptures.

The to them, doubtless, most impressive pageants of their ritual had exercised unquestionably much restraining influence of a favorable character upon their minds as well as stimulated to some degree the active elements in their faith, and in fact it had been all-important in consolidating and preserving their intense unity as a people;—but temporal and corporeal considerations held their sway, as was most natural, in the incessant struggle and friction of their doubtless busy national and civic life in its periods of prosperity,—with all its fervent passion and its vivid color:—and this may be readily seen in the marvelous literary productions of the Exilic period. But the

war of the Exile came,—and their existence as a nation was terminated or suspended. At first their experiences were bitter indeed, with the effect that their beautiful lyrics were the more often heard stirring the calm evening air in the rural suburbs of Babylon and in its surrounding provinces. The songs of Zion become then their consolation,—and since the sacred scenes of the Temple no longer survived to impart support to them, they began all the more eagerly to read and search their to them inspired scriptures;—yes, and to write further such compositions for themselves so that to those bards of the “sad” Captivity we owe most of the sublimer passages of all the Semitic Revelation. Then surely they redoubled every effort to preserve and multiply the surviving documents of their Holy Law, written doubtless upon skins, which would bear the wear and tear of constant use better than the later materials, if indeed any other materials were ever really known to them.

Recopying of course took place, as it had never been so pushed on before; and it was done by men who lived near Babylon among the Persian garrisons as well as immediately within the “Cities of the Medes.” Do we suppose that those tribes so forcibly settled in these “Cities,” which must have been to some degree of it important centers, were of all conceivable Jewish communities the only ones without their Rabbis, their ordinary priests, their scribes and their Exile-archs? Here then was Judaism in the heart of Media which was even more Zoroastrian than Persia proper or than Persian Babylonia. Was not Ragha itself a chief one of those very “Cities of the Medes” to which allusion is twice made categorically in Kings;—Ragha which was a very hot-bed of Zoroastrianism? Surely Ragha, as almost the center of the tale of Tobit, has high claims to have been at least one of those places where the tribes were originally placed. Among the literary people

of those tribes was many a one who had at least some admission to the circles of the great satraps, while as to those who had settled near Babylon, the kings themselves lived hard by at the summer palace city, Shushan, amidst the breezy hills of Elam, and both military and royal processions must have often occupied the roads. These imperial people, as we see from Ezra and his successors, knew much of the "Great God" of their new subjects; and that the Jewish leaders knew something of their faith, in reciprocating interest, it would be ridiculous to doubt; information on the one side here of course presupposes information on the other. *Avidity* is none too strong an expression to describe the curiosity with which the gifted Semites must have questioned every Persian priest among their other new found fellow citizens, though in the case of the Babylonians the first ferocities of resentment must be allowed time to have worn away.

"What was then, more precisely, this religion of their great deliverer with its God so like their own Yahveh? And what were these angelic beings whose names were echoed everywhere among their new-found friends?"—for they were later the very names of the months and days among these North Medic officers, and they may well have been so then;³—and beside this with little doubt the beings whom they designated were even worshiped constantly at various divisions of the day. If then they could really understand that these noble words meant in their first application more, far more, than the titles of mere angels,—that they were actually the descriptive appellations of God's attributes; see above, and only then later personified as His first creatures,—how striking this must have appeared to them. And—what was this deep doctrine "as to thought, as to word, and as to deed"? How melodious too were those Gāthīc chants in meters sister to the Veda

³ See above.

which they now for the first time heard;—and how strange this doctrine of a resurrection,—of an advanced Heaven and Hell,—of millennial hopes, etc. Surely it is impossible that the Jewish schools of Babylon, not to speak again of those in the “Cities of the Medes,” should not have known something about the faith of their Persian king, whose troops and courtiers, and beyond all question whose priests also, swarmed on every side with the usual staffs of assisting acolytes. Ignorance here seems simply inconceivable. They must have been little indeed like their successors, the well-known Jewish seers of keenest wit in Babylon, if they knew nothing of all this. Unlike indeed the men who founded the impressive schools at that great center, and who wrote our Exilic Bible for us, with our finest Talmud;—little of their kind indeed were they, if they did not find out all that Cyrus’s priests could tell them, while the great King was doubtless himself seen often in his first Capitol both in ordinary imperial residence and in the ever-intervening crises of his reign. Remember how closely even an Alexander some centuries later on could question the Persian Destoors as to their lore with its impressive creed—while at later than the latter’s date Jewish stories were half pure Persian in Medish scenes; see above.

Every Exile prophet, whose works have survived to us, shows that he breathed a new-found atmosphere; though he may have learned the Persian tenets by hearsay only and at second or indeed only at third hand, just as they must have later heard of the great inscriptions when they were newly cut and of many a predecessor of them now long since vanished, for that their replicas were everywhere is clear from Behistān. Those on that rock could not be at all reached by the passing wayfarers who might wish to read. Copies therefore of their substance, if not

of their letter, must have been provided, and they must have been amply in evidence in every higher school.

The contrary to this is excluded absolutely from all sane consideration; see also the alleged messages from Cyrus on his side as also those from Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes; and see their edicts in our Bibles with the throngs of ordinary Persian words and names like Mithradates, among those of the Jews. These things do not *prove* intercourse; they are "intercourse" itself. And as the prophets, so the priests, and the priestly scribes; the devoted men toiled doubly for many a weary day copying and recopying the holy texts. That they did not restore, interpolate and emend them everywhere is inconceivable, if for no other reason, then because they were often for the most part quite half the time half-legible; and duty itself would call on them to bring the dim tracings back; whole folios and even masses of folios would be also lost, gone doubtless forever. Emendations were therefore made everywhere at frequent intervals; see above; could this have been avoided? And this took place, as we must clearly see, all the more with regard to the oldest and most sacred parts of Holy Writ. Do we suppose that the skins on which Genesis was painted were really any stronger than those inscribed with the first Isaiah, or that the pigments used as ink were less capable of effecting corrosions in the course of time? Often indeed would the oldest scripture stand recopied in the newest handwriting and upon the freshest scroll. Their new-found ardor, born of their adversities and their new associations, had created the searching diatribes of Ezekiel and of the rest,—and it is inconceivable that the re-writers did not add stirring passages even in the oldest documents to their studies in their endeavor to restore and point the meaning here and there. Little indeed of the Holy Scriptures of those early dates has been left at all to us, comparatively speaking,

precious beyond measure as that little is,⁴ and everywhere throughout the documents which were preserved fresh and live thoughts have been implanted as the needs arose. And from this let us gather our ideas of the "Exilic" elements in the former still embedded in the Semitic books throughout the very oldest documents, though of course these very emendations have themselves shared somewhat the fate of their primeval predecessors. Time and accident, travel, exile, war and sacrilege have of course changed text after text, and this beyond all question even in the oldest books.

Yet what is original is not so hard to recognize; simply because the Exilic interpolations are so clear. I will not prolong this point;—this conclusion is but intended to be a short remark. Everywhere throughout the oldest books of the pre-Exilic Bibles, the re-writers inserted their keener thoughts: so that "pre-Exilic" is a very dubious term. We must search the very texts of the Hexateuch for it if we would do our work, for Exilic matter must be everywhere.

With this I close my brief essay, begun at the request of a distinguished friend, but here expanded far beyond the limits of a short Appendix, all that was at first intended.

For a still greater substitute more hastily struck off, see Appendix IV of the able conservative work of the Rev. C. H. H. Wright on Daniel, Vol. II, 1906.

⁴It would be indeed almost a miracle, if truth can assure us that one tenth of our earliest Bible has actually survived, holy and sacrosanct as that fragment so truly is,—emendation, interpolation, excision went on everywhere *pari passu* with defacement, corrosion, theft, burning, vandalism, and every loss. Exilic matter crops out everywhere throughout.

CHAPTER VIII.

GOD AND HIS IMMORTALS.

Ahura.

AHURA, the life-Spirit-Lord, existed as a word in its form of Asura from immemorial ages in the common primeval home of Veda and Avesta; and no name could be nobler for a holy God. It is better than Deus,—Zeus, which referred to the shining sky; better than “God,” far *better* in its origin at least; for, curiously enough, it expresses the same supervening ideas that we have in the Hebrew Yahveh which was later thought to mean “the being One,” the “I am that I am.”¹ This is the very same concept which lives essentially and etymologically in Ahura; for He is the source and interior of being, *Ahu-ra*; and, so far as I can remember, this is the deepest epithet that has ever been prominently applied to Deity. With this we have the other name Mazda, “the Great Creator,” or with tradition the “Great Wise One.” No words could be more impressive nor more interpenetrating.²

The Amesha Spenta.

While the six characteristics—virtues would not be the proper word—are absolutely the main laws of a righteous universe, clear and pure. Simple indeed they are, as all things universal must be;—common too, as the breath-

¹ An unquestionably later interpolation of Exilic origin.

² Nor have any more impressively effective appeared in history.

air that we breathe, for life is common; they are the most interior and elevating forces in all that we really know, or so to us they should be. Here they are in a sense collected; and in them all that is fittest for expression speaks to us. Not of themselves only do they thus impel us, once merely uttered, and then left wandering, scattered as it were amidst an innumerable host of other similarly treasured spiritual things. Gems of imperishable cost they would be, or they are, even then as so dispersed, and so existing to us, though almost irretrievably hidden amidst the throngs of other beauty from our most eager sight. And so indeed they actually once lay strewn like jewels of first water all dull and unpolished and rarely recognized in the bed-rock of their unwrought mines or buried in their native clay;—vague surmises were they ever even then of the eternal way in which the beneficial powers sometimes work for us for good. But here, as seen, they are gathered up for us; not like the glittering objects in a diadem,—that would be *indeed* too low an image,—not like the flowers upon a full-flushed tree, but like the solar systems around their central orb. Like this these all-pervading order-forces revolve around the throne of their Great Sovereign;—nay more, they actuate the very Person of the God Omnipotent,—in honor—they are not His decorations; far from it,—God forbid. They are His very Nature. He is the self-dividing, all enclosing Prism of them all,—the One of glorious hues that fold and unfold themselves in everlasting light. They are in a word God's character, than which no further thought is thinkable. And as the eternal ideals of all truth and order, they are those essential conditions of well-being, toward which all sentient subjects spiritually gravitate and should forever yearn;—and they are here enthroned,—made dominant,—set over everything in a way pre-eminent, though they have indeed evolved themselves through long preceding

ages. nay rather, though they have gathered crystal-like in their clusters through previous cycling æons.

Asha.

Asha, the very first law of all our better consciousness, here even seriously gains in its application, marvelous as such a thing may seem to some of us to be.

It, Asha, is indeed itself and in itself, Heaven's and nature's first moral guide, here declared also to be the first principle of God's eternal being. It is lifted up by all that there is in the conception of the divine personality,—brought into operation,—becoming at once when established among the Six a mighty challenging idea flinging its defiance at that one gigantic, but malign element, its opposite, the Lie, a spirit demon which withers us on every side. It proclaimed the Truth in the post-ultimate meaning of the word, asserting that there was indeed such a thing as a law actual,—and this not as a pointless sentiment, feebly fluttering, but as the very first instinct of God's character. From eternity past it has been the same, so in the vital present, and to all coming futurity will it abide unchangeable.

If we, who struggle to maintain honor, believe God to be indeed a person, here is a support immeasurable for us. The great crucified but risen Christ of faith cheers all our efforts on, for it has an almighty mind to harbor it and to guard it, to assist it, and proclaim it in the very ultimate essence of its worth;—for of such a mind is it indeed an all-controlling, dominant, though merely regulative part.

What a consolation indeed for those who think Truth possible and who believe in God in any sense of Him;—to think that there is at least one person who is True,—and *such a Person!* And we see how beautifully such a creed applies itself. Here we have a God omnipotent to protect us, and to further us, and to bless us;—but He consists,

in part at least, of fidelity; and we have no connection with Him save as we are faithful. Abandon honor and He vanishes. There is no God but the *true God, the Asha-God*.

But like all things of its nature the growth of this great but simple principle, in its recognition of course I mean, was, as I say, but gradual.

It developed at first slowly enough indeed, as we may both most readily conjecture and concede, with languid signs of life as its first glimmer shone among the vague dreams of sentient beings, glowing feebly into fuller light. And elsewhere and aside from either, it seems to have been in fact the very last and most remote of all the ideas to be recognized as concentered and so elevated in the forms of ancient creeds, as at all in any way a particular trait of any one of all the beings called "divine," not even of the chief of them, so luxuriantly depicted as they are in the wreaths of our immortal song.

Even in the pre-Gāthic age it, Asha of the Holy Truth, was of course surmised dimly as a universal regulative power;—but only by degrees did it unfold itself into clear consciousness as it grew, as all things like it must. That is to say, the very first idea of it as a concept developed but tardily as our race rose from its animal predecessors.—Some sort of consecutive sequence may indeed have even revealed itself to the instincts of the higher animals; the next beneath us; but it is better to confine ourselves to man.

The observed regularity in the sequence of natural phenomena first riveted attention as we grew human;—especially the heavenly bodies seemed to follow some rule, chief of all and naturally the God-like sun, which was often seen quite unclouded for long periods in lands called Iran. Its august reappearances followed Law even in its supervening changes in situation and intensity, with occasional eclipse. It never failed, and on its fidelity the balance of

all existing necessary objects seemed to hang. Without one phase of it planting would be impossible, without another harvest, without a third the source of tonic health.

Soon the moon, its brother luminary, for the moon is masculine both in Veda and Avesta, took up the tale with his five changes, and with these the reverting atmospheric modifications seemed to harmonize.

The main features of the advancing year-time seemed ever calculable. The great wind-storms of the Marutis, with their driven clouds flying on before them, seemed to arrive at certain intervals in many regions including India, with the return of ice and snow elsewhere and mostly hated,—the periodic rains torrential or soft and fertilizing, the dews and the flowering earth itself:—these all followed one another at seeming regulated intervals;—it was Asha, order. Endeared among all else was the inextinguishable fire not only blazing in the ever self-consuming God of day, but in the very bowels of the earth, known too in the caloric of plants, flaming also in forked lightning in the heavens, snake-like in figure;—again it was the friend of man on hearth and altar. Asha became its very synonym, and so from this its sacredness, from regularity; it was indeed “God’s son.”³ Then too the great ocean tides, to recall again the waters, with their ever measurable ebb and flood, could not have been altogether unknown to them, our early forebears, through hearsay, though living inland:—so too the spring freshets with swollen streams were ever to be looked for in their times. All was the unvarying circling forms of recurring certainty;—it was Asha, *rita*, “rhythm.” It reigned supreme in the terrific as in the genial.

What wonder then that they began to think that the thoughts of God were similar, supposing always that they had at that time any distinct idea whatsoever of a God,—

³ A frequent expression as applied to it in the late Avesta.

that His law in some of its interior elements would harmonize with this rhythm "as to thought, as to word, and as to deed";—that is to say, that it should be "perfect, converting the soul."

All was symmetric in its movements; that is, all was Asha. It was "nature" always and everywhere, *natura*, "to be born," and to be born again, *natura*, not *futura* merely, but *natura*, to be rhythmically born in a reappearance never unreasoned in its process,—seed, stem, leaves, fruit, to seed, stem, leaves and fruit again,—stream, mist, cloud, rain, to stream, mist, cloud, rain again,—spring freshness, summer bloom, autumn harvest, winter frost with cheer or misery, to spring, bloom, harvest, frost again. It was law forever fulfilling itself,—Asha, Rita, Rhythm.

So in the old Veda, in those early days, when man had however somewhat begun to form himself; Rita was so distinctly recognized that the very ceremonial service to the Heavenly Spirits followed its course in imitation. "Rite" appeared as Rita; that is to say, regularity in disciplined religious action in a form spectacular, presented ceaselessly and seldom varying, never abruptly, strictly and strenuously carried out by priests with closest care, consecrated for the ceremonial in sacrifice and praise.

But it was only in the stern Gātha, rough and sparse but glorious, that the Rita, Asha, became so exalted as the passionate honor of an Holy God in a sense supreme, a deity whose creature, the very foremost of all the other divine beings it was declared to be.⁴ What an exaltation, let me again assert it, for simple but awful justice, the first pure principle of all sane consciousness at least in man, and as we see, the first spiritual force in God. He is not an "infinite person," which could only be the language of

⁴ Mithra, a noble God indeed like the most exalted of our Archangels, whose cult rivaled Christianity for a long time

inadvertence, for a "person cannot be infinite,"⁵ but He is a *universal person* in whom we live and move; the Great Omnipotent, Omniscient, All-holy;—and He is *ashavan*, no liar.

Vohu Manah.

Then Vohu Manah, the "Good Mind," was again a thing enthroned, and for that alone, if for nothing else, made eminent. This was again too a curious thought in a savage age in far off Persia to be placed in such position—for then it was that the gods of Greece wrangled like vulgar households and even our Jewish Yahveh was a "consuming fire."

Vohu Manah;—it was a deep yearning in the universe toward all the good, making what was best in their sentient longings real. It was more than a tame negation, a lifeless acquiescence; it was a warm breath of active sympathy, a passion pervading conscious nature everywhere like a befriending instinct, a slender thread of sweetness in all the intricacies of interior feeling that gives us hope through the maniac jars of this thing which we call life. Vohu Manah;—it was all that is holiest in emotions, fervor in pure breasts and brains; the quiet force in the love of man for his brother; the power in the noble love of man for woman so deep and so transforming, fierce too also at times, past holding;—Vohu Manah—it is the father's solemn all-giving watchfulness which makes the name of "son" our deepest word.

Above all else it is the mother-love, that nerve of all controlling tenderness planted in every female soul over a little thing endowed for that very reason with a charm unspeakable,—to win and keep. And this Vohu Manah is again not left,—according to the Gātha,—a blind, unguided force, though beatific, in the world of sentient be-

⁵ Definition implies limit; see below.

ing;—it is an attribute and emotion of a Supreme Person (morally supreme)—Vohu Manah,—it meant the deep love of Almighty God for all the righteous living under His holy eye;—His creatures all the good were, and so was, in a still nearer sense, each one of them His child.

Khshathra.

With Khshathra we come upon the deeply fundamental element of *Rule*.

Not men, nor angels can persist without it. Some forceful form of right is needed to control and maintain the Law and Love, shaping their every application

Khshathra, government, administration!—without it chaos would ensue. With anarchy all property would turn worthless; no man could earn his bread; progress would be imperilled. Khshathra is command, severe indeed at times. Strength must emerge from commonplace while commonplace resists it. Conspiracy is unveiled by government—law put in force, Khshathra as “strength” meant discipline, combination with organization;—without it rallying points would be difficult, and the dush-Khshathra would sweep the isolated hordes away. Fields could not be cultivated save from Aeshma, “Raid fury of the bloody spear.” And Khshathra rules in fact in every sentient being from the mammoths to the ant-tribes, while man is paramount because of it. And what a satisfaction have we here again, who believe the Gātha. Khshathra is not alone a universal law—though marvelous indeed as such he would be, or he is—part of the moving crystallization of the ever re-forming universe; the forceful way in which things come and hold together, while like the flying blood they circulate. It is more: it is the *rule of our Sovereign God over us*. Where would be, indeed, the Truth—instinct of sincerity though it is? where the Love, to lead us

on, if there be no actual accordant *Power*? In Gātha it is *the authority of God*, as universal Monarch, exercising His might throughout His all-world and at every pulse.

We at times indeed lose courage, recalling our human administrations;—but if we believe that *God is King*, our hopes revive. According to the divine doctrine, and in the full implications, every needed office in every government, as well as every official, was and is in the very fact energized and vivified by Khshathra as the controlling force in the Life-spirit-Lord. He stands through Khshathra in every court of justice seeing that the wronged are protected. With his Khshathra he controls the voice of evidence, the judge's faith. He is present in the arm of execution, bars the prison gates, and strikes the oppressor dead. In the wide conflicts of politics He is above all things dominant, as Khshathra. In war He orders the compact mass through it;—straightens the flagging lines. It is His Khshathra that brings on *verethraghna*, victory, saving an imperiled land;—and in the result His authority supports the well-won, or the long established, throne. God is everywhere supreme according to the doctrine, always as implied⁶—through this authority; without His firm grasp all rules would be reversed.

Aramaiti.

And then there was the Aramaiti, the Toil-Mind, the *ara*-thought of God; vivification of the holy, sacred forces just depicted, the self-movement throughout all better things; motion perpetual,—the eternal nerve indeed of holiness never for an instant left relaxed.

The Ara-mind of the Truth and Love and Power,—first stirring the ploughshare in the mould,—to *ar* in *ara*—

⁶Here I treat once for all the mental forces implied everywhere;—seldom are these things actually expressed in Avesta as to their preciser point;—but everywhere *implied* in every line.

trum, —making fair life possible, displacing murder, theft and arson.

It was in fact in the first keen idea of it, *holy work*,—and above all that of husbandry, first deed of virtue; the very earth itself from this took on the name in both Veda and Avesta. With it she also is Aaramaiti, and as such sacred. Aaramaiti should be to us the point of everything, the practical application of the other noble three. It was the central open secret of all the Gāthic existence; and it was vital. It was the life, virile thought of effort as against lazy theft. It found the tribes swept by the murderous raids of ferocious neighbors drunk with greed, their homes destroyed, their crops devastated, and their holy herds driven off, by Aeshma. Retaliation threatened to turn them too to murder; but the Gāthic voice arose, as ever fresh, calling for civilization with honest toil. The armed saint of the Gāthic battle was the *fshushyant* par eminence as against the *afshushyant*,—this distinctly.

He was “the cattle-breeding husbandman” toiling in the field with *ara*-thought, as against Aeshma. Where was the use of the Law, the Love, the Authority with hordes of starving families on land abandoned, derelict,—with savage bands rushing often headlong in, filling their barns with the plundered crops and raided flocks of murdered husbandmen?

How could the Law prevail without something in which the Law could have its existence,—a nation. Aaramaiti in one keen sense of it, and at its first idea was “industry,” as I insist—without it no householder could accumulate the very means of civil life; for it is the persistent, wise, practical and so accumulating citizen, who builds up his country, as we know. Blustering disturbers, even when half well-meaning, waste the bread. The first duty of a human creature is to earn its living; if it does not

⁷ This is my suggestion

do that, it eats some other being's food, makes others poorer, is the cause of famine.

Enough has been said to make my idea clear. It was energetic occupation and first of all for the one thing needful, bread, honest bread for the hungry, tilling the Holy Earth, herself the sacred Aramaiti.⁸ This was the idea's origin, as I think; and it was a worthy and noble one, becoming soon exalted even in that far-off day till it took its place upon the very brow of Deity among the Creator's attributes. Here too it gave the keynote to the rest.

As it was the sacred instinct of mind-directed labor settling the destiny of man toward manhood, stopping his tendency to remain a beast of prey; so it became zeal, the "zeal of the Lord of hosts" in other cycles of idea—spontaneous instigation, instinctive planned activity. It was the main-spring of the never erring mechanism, driving on the mother-love with ever-living thrills of tenderness, moving on forever keen and fresh the father's active thoughtfulness. It impelled the fire of mind in the expressed emotions of the singer and composer;—filled out the organizer's schemes, kept up the ardor of the scholar keen and rapid and maintained it discovering, advancing. It was the quickness of the soldier, combining movements at a glance,—the genius of invention, building out the world's capacities. It was the *ara-maiti*, self-toiling thought, stirring the hand and ear of creative passion everywhere. It was, in a word, our *Inspiration*.

In God, the divine instinct of activity, the essential force in spirit-motion; in man inspired obedience, in woman, piety, mild indeed, half unconscious, but still strenuous through all. No wonder that in pleasing memory God called it "daughter." It is the burning soul of the

⁸ So too in Veda.

other three, the friend of Truth, the sister of Mercy, the handmaid of Command.

Haurvatat.

Haurvatat was the completeness of it all, again made here magnificent. She was the realization of the ideal, the wealth of health, and the health of wealth, in fact that very vision of perfection that should float as an ideal on the surface, or above every optimistic scheme to help it on and to make it actual. It was, in a word, *Fruition*. Who has not tasted somewhat of it at fleeting moments? It meant that justice should be more than a delusive subterfuge, hiding the sinister approach of theft forever creeping towards us. It meant that Love's longings should sometime touch their dearest goal, that just power should really reach dominion, that all nature's good instincts should succeed. It was with another's word, "to be satisfied." The name itself means All-ness, Haurvatat, the Vedic *sarvatat*, the great wall of full attainment enclosing the other Four. And goal and aim of all we hope for, we have again the satisfaction of it. *This Allness is again of God*: and if He be the Haurva, sarva, All, surely there is some expectation left to us that we may one day gain what our better instincts wish.

Ameretatat.

While Immortality, as ever lifted up in Attribute, should be the permanence. God has no beginning, and so we all shrink with Him from an ending. Death is to some of us, delusively, woe's ultimate. One can scarce refrain from citing the schooldays' rhymes so beautiful, though sad, of Halleck:

"Come to the bridal chamber, Death!
 Come to the mother's, when she feels
 For the first time her first-born's breath!
 Come when the blessed seals
 That close the pestilence are broke,
 And crowded cities wail its stroke!
 Come in consumption's ghastly form,
 The earthquake shock, the ocean storm!
 Come when the heart beats high and warm,
 With banquet song, and dance, and wine!
 And thou art terrible!—the tear,
 The groan, the knell, the pall, the bier,
 And all we know or dream or fear
 Of agony are thine."

But the holy faith held out its banishment. The glory of the Truth, the deep satisfaction of the Love, the sense of safety from the Power, the Inspiration and the Fruition should not end in inanition. The cup was not to be put to the lip only to excite desire, and to be dashed from it. There was to be an Ameretatat—death-absence. Like the Aditi of the Veda, Ahura was without beginning of days, and so consequently without end of years:—Eternity, Oh Eternity!—this, in another sense. As there was no beginning in God, so there was never a beginning to His works. He had put them forth from past eternity, and He will continue to do the like on to endless futurity, the same;—and so the life of the holy man should be deathless to a degree even here; but it should be also supernaturally immortal;—and this, when pointed, awoke everywhere the deepest hope, "bringing life and immortality to light." Strange as it may seem to us, the other life came largely from Arya, from Iran, from India. Veda with Avesta first pointed its significance. The Semites could at first see little reason in it. The great doctrine however is the vital force of Christianity, and the habitable world, so far as it is Christian, has lived on it for nineteen hundred years. Such are the im-

mortals of the Gātha in their ideas expanded, well-called the "august," as they are. This only, be it noticed, is their meaning in the first keen conception of them in the first department of the Gātha;—and they are as I need hardly linger to re-asseverate, the sublimest conceptions of their particular kind that the world had till then ever seen,⁹ for here they were signally assembled for us,—and doubly re-consecrated, as the essence of all holiness in a pure God personified.

Their Counterparts.

But the Opposer intervenes;—for, as against the supreme Life-Spirit-Lord, with His six characteristics, and in the pervading antithesis of the system the great Antagonistic Being, Angra Mainyu,¹⁰ the Evil Spirit, appears, and stands in great prominence as perhaps the most defined concept of the kind ever advanced in all well-known theology. He is the Creator of all that is averse to the Good.

His attributes are not as yet at all so closely summarized in the Gāthas as those of Ahura are, nor are they indeed formally collected even in the later but still genuine Avesta. They are however yet both implicitly and explicitly present in the Gātha as in the later Avesta, and with incisive force throughout.

Asha, the holy rhythm of fidelity in God and nature, first¹¹ of the sacred and august six Attributes just above discussed,¹² is met at every turn by its contradictory opposite, manifested, as might be expected, in the sinister shifts of subterfuge.

⁹ In such remarks I refer, as I always try to make it plain, to well certified written lores

¹⁰ Literally the "Torturing Spirit" from the idea of "tortion," but the literal ideas of etymology are seldom to be followed closely in defining the particular meanings of a word. Simply "evil" is the sense.

¹¹ So in the original documents,—the Gāthas: Asha leads us to its interior force and meaning. Not so later; Vohu Manah gained the prior place, doubtless, from its pleasing significance.

¹² See above.

Jealousy, that first recognized of all the loathsome instincts in Bible, Veda, Iliad, and our Avesta, sheds its green gleam over the form of truthful innocence with the natural results at once apparent, the young, like Abel, in their first truthfulness are everywhere betrayed.

Suspicion, alas too often justified, is sown throughout. Treachery, as we even see it now, more and more pervaded intercourse, till Ferocity abode its time.

Murder was the mere outspoken expression of it all, led off, as might be expected, by the offspring of the first human pair (see Genesis); or later on in a finer garb as wreathed in the glare of a madman's joy it appeared in the hour of long planned infamy, the assassin gloating over his victim. Every uncanny desire was more than satisfied. Surely this is a very sinister side of existence—of the privilege of consciousness itself, and the first thought which brought on these delineations is the Lie of the sneaking sycophant, the Druj, She-Devil, first daughter of the king Dushahu.

Then comes, less sickening, but still revolting, the Akem Manah. It, or "he," stands out as against Vohumanah; as the Druj stands out against Asha; and we may well term it Hate, the concentration of woe's passions, as the Druj was their inception—the continued forth-action of the doomed nature. As the mother in the love of Vohu Manah yearns after her little second self, her transmitted soul, so the Akem Manah, blind Fury of Aeshma, stands ready to destroy it. Fair youths, each moved with noblest instincts, still meet in murderous conflict, and fathers mourn their life's lost hopes;—for what? Wars hated by mothers still wrap whole continents in flames, as blight wipes away wide provinces of ripening food. Famine falls upon the world's most simple living inhabitants.

Pestilence strikes terror where it does not more mercifully, swiftly kill—while frightful nightmares of futurity

cloud the early days of the thoughtful child, diverting at times even the strong man's life to worthless channels later on, and the dying sometimes await with benumbed conviction the frights of certain Hell, merciful Nature deadening the otherwise tortured faculties. It is the Akem Manah, "the Evil plan" as we might almost term it, preferring also perhaps the other form of the adjective, the superlative *achishtem*;—not the "evil" only but the "*Worst*" Mind;—and this, always according to the analogies worked out through implication, is what murderously conflicted with our Vohu Manah everywhere—poisoning the thoughts of that blessed instinct of "Good-Will." And as against God's Authority Khshathra, benignant and merciful, restraining only to compact, ameliorate and save, we have the overwhelming despots of Dush Khshathra. Government, meant to be the arm of truth and God's right hand, and raised aloft for good to repress the outbursting impulses of the young, to protect the wronged,—and punish the agents of the Akem Manah, is met by the Evil Power. At times, even affected with uncontrolled cerebral mania,—the half mad imbeciles of despotism, that is of "inverted power," wreak vengeance on the innocent for their existence and their excellence, taking from their children's lips the bread of sustenance. Those who save their country by great deeds must be prepared for simple murder. Hard earned results stored carefully for an evil day are snatched off in a moment;—slaves must see their labor's wage paid to their masters, with gross indulgence for their recompense. Justice must be laughed at and the silliest of untruths laboriously propagated.

Or, again, wild chaos must sweep everything in the poor hopeless efforts at reform,—too much force being less fatal than too little. Tyranny in the form of Anarchy leaves misery redoubled. The helpless blinded lead on

the poorer blind. Indiscipline, false liberty, leaves all things lost.—Such was the Dush-Khshathra, essence of the impulses which lived in the tyrants of the Yasna.

And then for Aramaiti, God's self-moved inspiration in the good, there was Taramaiti,—the Insolence Irrepressible, bold genius of effrontery. It was by implication and from analogies active like the Aramaiti, and it gloried in its shame. It was what makes a mock of piety shouting its wild chorus in ribald chants to infamy; it was the wantonness of the Lie, the Hate, the Tyranny, while blatant.

We know such things too plainly—they are the shrieks from our madhouse windows, the travestied hymns of midnight streets, the crime of those who “draw iniquity with a cord of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart rope.” And there is then its fell result—the very *Completeness*, Haurvatat, of the Holy God has, on this doctrine, its awful negative. The Supreme (?) Deity faces a territory which He Himself has never trod, while His adversary has his emissaries everywhere within His own dominions—with the result that all is approximately marred. Disease, to state the first cursed evil now suggested here, stands ready in a thousand forms to terrify as well as ruin. That one firm work of God, the blest balance of the bodily and mental powers which we call Health, sole condition of effective normal action, is jeopardized.

Demoniac laughter greets foul evils worse than leprosy; poisons which revolt the touch and nostril are lightly passed along; the dying agonies of helpless hearts are made the call for roars of approbation, while to the good, a sorrow well-nigh intensified to mania at times settles over everything; the wine cup with its lighter ruin has given place to the scorching flame of the spirit poison put to the lips of the helpless poor, while the cyclone of financial panic sweeps over the face of populations white with

terror, like the face of Ocean swept white with hurricanes, wrecking homes forever;—the treason of some thieving fiend fills up the cup, turning the household to the streets, capped by the remorse of the silly victim, trusting the man hyena with his all.

Haurvatat, the blessed Real of the Ideal, is indeed met by an Incompleteness which has made us almost doubt whether the Evil One of the Two Colossi has not indeed sometimes had the upper hand; and whether life itself be not the curse of all of us.

And as against the Immortal Being of our God the Life-Spirit-Lord, and that of His saints in Earth and Heaven there was, and is, the ever dread alternative;—as seen above.

Even where we are awake to see in Her, nature's soft second nurse, the sweet ending of a life well spent, a fight well fought,—yet, how we recoil—poor self-blinded human nature that we are—aye, how we recoil even from that calm non-entity from which we came. Then what Death is not to the Dying it is that redoubled to the bereaved: to miss the beloved form; to see the dear face fade away—here agonies are real indeed; and the end though it be not indeed the King of terrors, yet it is verily the Queen of sorrows,—*indomitæque morti!*

Such are the Six Attributes of the Antagonistic Being—extracted by ourselves from the course of Gāthic thought.—The deeper Searcher, let me say it here in passing,—who is more anxiously scrutinizing the interior psychic forces here present, will be gratified to see our one main point here strengthened. These Attributes—let us note it well in passing—are still only one of them at all with certainty *personified*; and, as said above, they are nowhere gathered like the Holy Seven; and this points that most incisive of phenomena, the strange deep abstract nature of the Six, for if five of the six corresponding qual-

ities of Angra Mainyu gathered by ourselves from the antitheses of the Gātha are thus so obviously abstract, this strong fact goes to make out the abstractness of our collected six beatifications all the more distinctly; and it is on this that momentous issues of the past once hung. Yet the two chief ones of each of the Seven, I mean Ahura and Angra Mainyu—are here personified beyond all manner of doubt, God as Ahura Mazda, with His fell opponent. It might be considered strange indeed that I should for one moment mention such a thing so obvious; but here I must be thorough and exhaustive in a certain light of it. Some of my readers will doubtless understand why I dwell on such an apparently all-obvious item. They are indeed great conscious beings personified, and beyond all doubt of it the first ever so presented in all history; and we should pause here to recall and gather up all that this great fact has in it.

THE AUTHOR OF THIS WORK,

YASNA I,

EXPRESSES HIS ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TO

MR. JEMSHID BAHEMEN

(OF TEHERAN, PERSIA)

for purchasing 100 copies of it for presentation to Libraries, and
to persons who may be interested in it. Oxford, Feb., 1911.

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THE PAHLAVI TEXT OF YASNA I

**for the first time edited with full collation of Mss. and now prepared
from all the Codices.**

These Texts appeared in transliteration as edited with the collation of all the Mss. in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Band LVII, Heft IV. 1903. The variants were not there added, nor were comments given. An English translation of them with notes appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for Oct. 1904.

For a free critical rendering of the original Avesta Text see the XXXIst Vol. of the Sacred Books of the East, pp. 195-203.

The **Mss.** used have been described in the Acts of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, Vol. II, p. 523, and in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for July, 1900, page 511, flg.

It is only necessary to add here that A. represents our Oxford Zend Pahlavi Ms. C I. first cited by me in the *Gāwās*, as DJ, later known as J². B is our Oxford photograph of D : see *Gāwās*, otherwise known as Pt¹. C is the Munich Ms. of Haug's Collection formerly numbered 12a, 12^b ; this a Pahlavi text transliterated in traditional style in the Persian-arabic character, and accompanied with a word-for-word translation in Parsi-pers ; its original seems to have been for the most part practically the original of Aspendiārji's Gujarati translation. D is Haug's Munich Ms. supposed to be a replica of K⁵. E is Spiegel's printed text of K⁵, put here naturally after the Mss. The Ms. of fragments in Haug's Collection would be F, not of special value. J* is a Yasna with Sanskrit translation not before collated : see the descriptions above referred to.

VARIANTS.

As a part of this issue of Yasna-I contains a new edition of this Pahlavi text with its variants, these notes necessarily apply both to the old edition of that text which appeared in the *Muséon* of 1906, and also to this present edition of Yasna I, of 1910.

1. Nēr. has nimantrayāmi sañpūrṇayāmi. The alternative rendering 'I invite' is to be preferred; see SBE XXXI, p. 195, note 1. — b. B. C ins. 𐬨 bef. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀. — c. Nēr., the MS. J*, has ijisnai for -nau (?). — d. B, D om. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀; see Nēr. — e. B, C om. from 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 to 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 inclusive, but have 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 for 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀. — f. Nēr. om. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 bef. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀. — g. A has 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 with E; not so B, D : Nēr. karomī, as indicated. — h. B, C have, as indicated, 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 here. — i. see Nēr. — j. B. om. the appendage from 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀. C never expresses this 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀. so D om. the appendage : A has it, and E. — k. A, E ins. 𐬨 bef. -𐬨𐬀; B. om. : C never expresses it. — l. A, B, E ins. 𐬨 bef. -𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀. — m. A ins. 𐬨 bef. -𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 : B om. — n. A ins. 𐬨 bef. -𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀; B om. — o. B has irrational point bef. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀. — p. this 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 may be gloss, or was it suggested by the letters -𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 in 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀. — q. B has 𐬨 for 𐬨 bef. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀; not so A, E wh. have 𐬨. — r. B, C have 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀, for 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀, A, E: 𐬨 may here equal *va*. — s. B, C have 𐬨. — t. so, B, C; A, D, E 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀.

2. a. A marks the 𐬨𐬀. — b. so corr. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 : B 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 : D 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (?); A, C 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀, E 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀. — c. A by oversight has 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀, but marks the irregularity. — d. A decayed : B, D 𐬨. — e. B, C 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 — f. B, C om. D, E's 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 : so probably A, but decayed. — g. A, B om. 𐬨; A, B mark -𐬨𐬀. — h. A, B om. 𐬨. — i. so A, B. — j. A, B, C, D om. the 𐬨 from 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀; but E has it and see Nēr's aṅgāni : C trl. andām. — k. A decayed at 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀. — l. so A : cf. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 B 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (so (?) corr.). Is this superior to the other readings : — 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 (?) in B is mistake for -𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀. — m. B 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 : A, C, E 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 = artāvahišt; not

t-ō(?)n translating tan.; and by Nēr.'s *gostanūm*. One might differ from it as a literal translation; A, B, C ins. ۱ aft. ۱۱۱۱; not so Nēr. — d. E. ڪو, om. ۱; A ڪو; om. ۱; B, D ڪو ۱; C ڪو; A, B, C, D om. ۱. — e. A ins. ۱۱ aft. ۱۱۱۱; not so B, nor C. — f. B, C ins. ۱ bef. ۱۱۱۱. — g. A, E ڪو; not so Nēr.; B, C ڪو. — h. B seems ۱۱, but more joined together for ۱۱, a mechanical accident: A approaches the same. — i. C trl. *zaṣṣaṭ*; Nēr. *cihne*: A, B mark ۱۱. — j. A, B, D ins. ۱ bef. ۱ (or ۱ = ' '); not so C. — k. C has ۱ in the text through oversight. — l. A has ۱ ۱ ۱ ۱; B has ۱ ۱ ۱ ۱; so C means with *stā*. E has (?) ۱ ۱ ۱ ۱. — m. E has ۱ for ۱ bef. ۱ ۱; B has this ۱: A has ۱ faint; C has ۱; Nēr. *paralokasya ihalokasya* — n. C trl. *rūšan* for the two words, as if one were untranslated or both combined, but its text looks like *γvarah burd* (?), or *burah* (?), meaning ' *barā* ' (?). Nēr. has *aṅgāro jyotiṣca*. — o. A, B, D ins. ۱ aft. ۱ ۱, (read ۱ ۱) bef. ۱ ۱; C and E and Nēr. om. ۱ here.

۲. a. B, C ins. ۱; not so A. — b. A ۱ ۱; B ۱ ۱; C *asnah*, trl. *hangām*. — c. B om. ۱; A has ۱ aft. ۱ ۱. — d. B om. ۱ bef. ۱ ۱. — e. A, B have ۱ bef. ۱ ۱. Nēr. has: n. s. *ahahpuṇyagurūn* (so) ۱ tat (so) yat *saṁd'yāyūh antaḥ saṁd'yāyām cakyate gantum prabāvenā'sya hāūananāmūm prātaḥsaṁd'yām*....

۳. a. B, C ins. ۱; D, E om. ۱ bef. ۱ ۱: not so A wh. is decayed up to ۱ ۱. b. A ins. ۱ bef. ۱ ۱; B. ins. only ۱. or only ۱: ۱ may be written small. — c. A ۱ ۱; but B ۱ ۱. Nēr. *yāca yūt'āni gavāni pravard'ayati*. — d. A, B om. ۱ bef. ۱ ۱ ۱. A has ۱ bef. ۱ ۱. — e. B ins. ۱ bef. ۱ ۱: not so A. — f. A ins. ۱ bef. ۱ ۱. — g. so B ۱ ۱, no ۱ in B bef. ۱ ۱; but Nēr. has *moibad-*: so A, D, E. ۱ ۱: C seems text ' *rad* ', trl. *دلنا*. — Nēr. *yā manuṣyeṣu moibadeṣu mad'ye satkūryiṇi uttamapati-u*.

۹. a. B, C ins. ۱; not so A. — b. B has ۱ ۱ ۱ = *frāgaoy-*; ۱, while equalising Pahl. long ā, is here Avesta short ۱ used, as often in similar cases, for short

•Pahl. **د**. A and others **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥**. B has often **𐭠** marking 'g', but not here. A has a small **𐭠** aft. **-𐭥**. Nēr. has nivāsītāranyam. — c. A om. **𐭠** ; B ins. **𐭠**. — d. A curiously, **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — e. A **𐭠** ; B, E **𐭠𐭣**. — f. A seems **-𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (?), meant for **-𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; so B **-𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; so C. — g. A om. **𐭠** bef. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (so) . B has **𐭠** ; C trl. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; not **gōšāš** ; not **gōšī**. — h. B, D **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; A, E **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**. C seldom renders these forms fully ; here as usual C has merely- and in kunand. — i. A has no **𐭠** bef. **𐭠𐭣** ; B, C have it. — j. C renders **šinav**. — k. A decayed, but A ins. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (?); C trl. **cašmaš** . so A, B, D **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; E has **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (?). — l. B, C **𐭠𐭣** ; A, E **𐭠**. — m. B **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** : B adds **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** more joined together : C has only one form like the first : but trl. **nišīn** — (?). — n. A, like E, but faint **𐭠** ; B has **𐭠**. — o. A om. **𐭠** bef. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; B has **𐭠** — p. C trl. **cašmī** here ; above C has **cašmas**. — q. B om. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** here wh. D has ; C does not om. the word with B ; C trl. kunand, or kunad (?). See note h. A decayed in several places in **𐭠** ; A — **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — r. A may om. **𐭠** aft. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; so C om. **𐭠**. — s. B om. **𐭠** ; A **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; D ins. **𐭠** aft. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** : C zagie, trl. **ānic** (sic) for **ān ham**. — t. A, B, C, D ins. **𐭠** bef. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; E om. — u. A ins. **𐭠** bef. **𐭠𐭣** ; B no **𐭠** here. — v. C ins. **𐭠** bef. **𐭠𐭣** ; B no **𐭠** here. — w. A om. **𐭠𐭣** here ; B has **𐭠𐭣** **𐭠𐭣**, but has no **𐭠** bef. this by A second **𐭠𐭣**, nor bef. the first **𐭠𐭣**. This first **𐭠** is supplied by A. A has only **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; D, E no **𐭠**, and **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** : C has **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (i) **dū** (i) **guft šem**. — x. D seems to ins. **𐭠** bef. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; not so A, nor B. — y. B has **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** = **yazat** (?) ; so C, trl. **īzad** ; Nēr. **iajdam**. — z. A, B do not ins. **𐭠** bef. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, nor does C, nor others ; **𐭠** supplied. — aa. B ins. **𐭠** bef. **𐭠𐭣** ; so C : so A **𐭠𐭣** = a small **𐭠𐭣** (?). — bb. A ins. **𐭠** bef. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; B om. **𐭠**. — cc. A has **𐭠** ; B om. **𐭠** bef. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, so B **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**. A **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — dd. A decayed. — ee. **𐭠** B nearly **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (?) but no types for it — *mizak'* (?) as if with short **𐭠** ; A decayed. — ff. B **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; C trl. **dānad** ; A, D, E **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; so Nēr. **jānanti**. — gg. A om. **𐭠** bef. **𐭠𐭣** ; B has **𐭠**.

10. a. B, C ins. **𐭠** bef. **-𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; not so A. — b. B, C **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; but C trl. **rapīwīn**.

not necessarily rapitvin. A, E, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — c. A ins. 𐭠 ; B om. 𐭠. Nēr. adds mad'yāhnaḥ saḥd'yām.

11. a. B, C ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; not so A. — b. B 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; so C seems. E 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; A end lengthened and joined to 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 hardly here = fšeg as elsewhere. If so, read better = fšu ī here ; but A, E seem the most natural. — c. A, B ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — d. A, B, D mark the 𐭠 in 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — e. B ins. 𐭠 aft. 𐭠 ; A, E om. 𐭠. — f. A has 𐭠 over. original, in 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — g. A confused : B 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; C trl. rapitvīn ; D, E 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 : Nēr. rapit'vinisaḥd'yāyāḥ. — h. A, B, C, D ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; B no 𐭠. — i. A, B ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — j. A, B 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; so C trl. avzāyēnēd (so) ; D, E 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — k. A ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; B no 𐭠 here. — l. B om. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; A ins. 𐭠. — m. B has 𐭠 (?) bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; A om. 𐭠. — n. A, B ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — o. C om. gloss from 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 to 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. Nēr. has yā manuṣyeṣu guruṣu mad'ye satkāryānī.

12. a. B, C ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; not so A. — b. A decayed. — c. A, B, C ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — d. A om. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — e. B, C, E om. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; so Nēr. om. : A has 𐭠 badly written.

13. a. B, C ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — b. A decayed. — c. A, B ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — d. B always more pronounced in the last letters.

14. a. B, C ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; not so A. — b. B accidental (?) variation 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; D (sic) 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — c. B ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; A om. 𐭠. — d. A ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; B, D, E, om. 𐭠 there. — e. B, D ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; A, E om. 𐭠 there. — f. A ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; B om. 𐭠. — g. A decayed at 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; C hamkūr. — h. B 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 for 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; A 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — i. A, B 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 for D, E 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — j. A, B 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; so E ; elsewhere 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; C afzānēd (so) ; see also C trl. — k. A, B om. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — l. A ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; B om. 𐭠. — m. B ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; A om. 𐭠. — n. A 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; B

• nā-būd*-kunandah. — g. A ins. ۵ bef. a ۱۱۱. — h. A decayed ; B divides ۱۱۱ ۵ ; C avar-rūbešnī ; trl. bālā-ravandah : Nēr. uparipravṛṭṭyā. — i. A decayed at ۱۱۱ ۵ ; B, C ۱۱۱ ۵ ; D, E ۱۱۱ ۵ ; C varharām, so trl. — j. B ۱۱۱ ۵, C īzad ; Nēr. iajdam. A ins. ۵ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵ ; not so B, C. — k. B ۱۱۱ ۵ for ۱۱۱ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵ (so) ; (B elsewhere sometimes ۱۱۱ ۵) ; A, D, E have ۱۱۱. — l. B has ۱۱۱ ۵ here ; A has ۱۱۱ ۵ ; C has āstād, trl. āstād (so) ; Nēr. om. ... ۱۱۱ ۵, it had not yet entered his MSS. — m. C and Nēr. (iajdam) corroborate ۱۱۱ again as ‘ yazat ’ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵ ; C īzad. — n. Nēr. om. this gloss.

20. a. B, C, ins. ۱ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵ ; not so A. — b. so restored from texts. C (?) , D, E ۱۱۱ ۵ ; A, B ۱۱۱ ۵ (so) ; C probably ahūšin (?), trl. hūšin (?). All om. D, E ’s ۱۱۱. — c. Nēr. ins. apararātrasaihd’yām.

21. a. B, C ins. ۱ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵. — b. A om. ۱ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵. — c. A decayed at ۱۱۱ ۵ ; B has ۱۱۱ ۵. C burj*, trl. burj. — d. B om. ۵ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵. — e. A decayed at ۱۱۱ ۵. A has ۱۱۱ ۵ : C has ic for ham. — f. B ins. ۵ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵ ; A om. ۵. — g. so A, B, C ۱۱۱ ۵ ; D, E ۱۱۱ ۵ ; Nēr. usahinasaihd’yāyāh. — h. D ۱۱۱ ۵ accidentally ; A, B, C, E ۱۱۱ ۵. — i. B, D ins. ۱ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵ ; A, C, E, om. ۱. — j. so B ۱۱۱ ۵ and all. — k. A, B, D ۱۱۱ ۵ ; E ۱۱۱ ۵. — l. so B ; A decayed at ۱۱۱ ۵ ; C afzāyē(?)nēd. Nēr. ins. : yā manu-yesu mad’ye satkāryiṇī ye nagarāyāyānām’ adīstātūrah ; B attaches the following ۱ ; has ۱۱۱ ۵. — m. so B ۵ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵ ; A confused at ۱۱۱ ۵, written over perhaps. A looks like ۱۱۱ ۵. poss. ۱۱۱ ۵ (?); E ۱۱۱ ۵ ; C nmāni’c. — n. A decayed. — o. A decayed — p. A om. (?) ۱ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵ ; so C, trl. mardum. — q. so A ۱۱۱ ۵ ; B by accident ۵ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵. — r. B ins. ۵ bef. ۱۱۱ ۵ ; A no ۵. — s. ۵ supplied bef. ۱۱۱ ۵ ; all om. ۵. — t. ۱۱۱ ۵ corroborates ۱۱۱’s traditional reading ۱۱۱ ۵ in 14 as = hervad ; C dātōbar, trl. dādar ; so elsewhere ; A partly decayed here : Nēr. yā manu-yesu ’ghāntaryartišu mad’ye satkāryiṇī.

22. a. B, C ins. ۱ bef. -سرل; not so A. — b. so A. سرل سرل سرل سرل; B. سرل سرل سرل; E -ل (sic); a contraction; C srōšahlūban, trl. srōš i ašō; D سرل سرل سرل. — c. A, ins. ۵ bef. -سرل; not so B, D, E. — d. so B سرل سرل سرل; A سرل سرل سرل. — e. A, ins. ۵ سرل سرل سرل سرل (sic) for سرل سرل سرل سرل; B, E om. — f. A سرل سرل سرل; so B سرل سرل سرل here; C tarsagā (sic); C trl. jāi bandagī (? not 'bandag'). — g. D seems again سرل سرل; so B سرل سرل; but سرل faint; A سرل سرل سرل سرل; A decayed at سرل سرل; C trl. frāḏādār (so) ya'Enī afzūnī-dihandah (or -kunandah). — h. so B سرل سرل. — i. Nēr. adds vřdd'idañ b'ūsamb'ūteh gročam ādecapātim. *č here == sh.

23. a. A ins. ۱; B om ۱. — b. A, B ins. ۵. — c. C explains سرل as hend; ya'Enī hast. B سرل سرل N. B, and not سرل سرل. — d. so B. — e. A, B both have redundant ۱ in A سرل سرل سرل; B سرل سرل سرل سرل; B has it in one line; A divided by end of line. B's سرل must be the ā of emphasis; it is somewhat separated from -۱; D, E have سرل سرل سرل سرل; C nām vōl (?) for volu = nām i veh; Nēr. om. latter. — f. B سرل سرل سرل سرل; A سرل سرل سرل سرل (?); B om. ۱ bef. سرل سرل سرل. A ins. ۱; Nēr. has raṇaḥ (so) satyapatih for the gloss. C has text rīstakī (sic). — g. A سرل سرل سرل; B سرل سرل سرل; D, E سرل سرل سرل; C āštādic. — h. B سرل سرل سرل سرل سرل; A سرل سرل سرل سرل; C frā- — i. B om. ۵ bef. 1st سرل سرل سرل; A decayed. C gēhān, trl. jihān. — j. All سرل سرل سرل; A, B, C, D سرل سرل سرل سرل; C va vārišn, trl. u puštī. — k. B om. ۵ bef. 2nd سرل سرل سرل; A ins. ۵ before it; so C, trl. gēhān = jihān. — l. B marks ۵ here, but not above. Nēr. vřdd'idañ b'ūsamb'ūteh puštidañ b'ūsamb'ūteh.

24. a. B, C ins. ۱; A decayed. — b. A decayed. — c. B سرل سرل سرل سرل; A سرل سرل سرل. — d. A, D ins. ۵ bef. سرل سرل سرل سرل; no ۵ in B, E. — e. A, B ins. ۵ bef. سرل سرل سرل سرل. — f. A ins. ۵ bef. سرل سرل سرل سرل; C panjah (i) pardūm, trl. panjah (i) avval. — g. Nēr. adds : pañcakasya yah* ādyasya uttamasya.

• 33. a. B, C ins. ۱ bef. -سرت. — b. A ۱سرتد؛ and so B, ۱سرتد which elsewhere has ۱سرتد. — c. B as nearly always ۱سرتد : C trl. hend. — d. B ۱سرتد. — e. B om. ۱ bef. سر ; E has ۱. — f. B ins. د bef. ۱سرتد. — g. D seems to read (?) ۱سرتد bef. -سرت : A, B د ۱سرتد ; C trl. nazdik. — h. B ۱سرتد (so) ; A, E ۱سرتد ; D ۱سرتد. — i. C trl. pīrāmun ; D has د bef. ۱سرت and after it. — j. B has ۱سرت : C h-v-ō (?), trl. hāvan. — k. D seems د bef. ۱سرت or for ۱سرت ; C seems ۱سرت for ۱سرت ; trl. pah (by oversight : read kih). — l. B ۱سرتد. — m. A decayed ; D ins. د. — n. D om د ; A, B, E ins. د — o. B ۱سرتد. A decayed. — p. so D (?) ۱سرت : A, B, C, E ۱سرت.

34. a. B, C ins. ۱ ; not so A — b. A ins. ۱ bef. -سرت. — c. A ins. د bef. ۱سرت. — d. A om. د bef. ۱سرت : D, E have د (?) ; B has it peculiarly. Nēr. mahirān mahattaram anagvarān (so) puṇyātmanān, adding jñātavyo 'san' iti ṣaṣḥ. — e. B, E have ۱ bef. د ۱سرت ; D, C om. ۱ bef. ۱سرت : D seems د ۱سرت (?). A decayed ; C stārah, trl. sitārah. D seems to ins. ۱ bef. ۱-. — f. A has smaller د. — g. A, B, D mark ۱سرت dām : so C trl. pēdāyīš. Nēr. adds Hormīdēna sp-ṭāḥ.

35. a. A ins. د, no ۱ ; B, C ins. ۱. Nēr. has the acc., not gen. — b. B has ۱سرتد : or is it د ۱سرتد ? : A is decayed : B on the margin, but old ; C stārah = sitārah. See also Nēr 's tārakaṇḥa. — c. د should be supplied A may have د, but it is decayed. — d. B has د ۱سرت in the terminations as usual ; C trl. nūrmand. — e. B om د ; A has د. — f. A, B om. د. — g. so B ; A decayed. — h. A decayed ; B, C om. د- ; B has د : A has د ۱سرت. — i. A, B have like E ۱سرتد = arvandāsp va ; (N B) for other occurrences of ۱سرت = dā. — j. A د ۱سرت : B ۱سرت. no د- : D (?) د ۱سرت ; E ۱سرت, om. د ۱سرت, and no ۱ bef. the word ; trl. caśmah i āb (?). — k. A, B ins. د. — l. B, C ۱سرت- ; A, E om. Nēr. does not literally express ۱سرت-. Nēr.

locaneca. — m. B om. ۱; C ??: A has ۱. — n. A ۱۰۱۰۱۰۱۰; B, C om. ۱۰. — o. A, B ins. ۱. — p. B ۱۰۱۰۱۰۱۰; E ۱۰۱۰۱۰; A ۱۰۱۰۱۰۱۰. Nēr. rājānam; but see the original; A has ۱۰- only as termination to ۱۰۱۰۱۰-; B, C, D, E no ۱۰. — q. C trl. judā; Nēr. rte; B ۱۰۱۰; r. A ۱۰ over. but old (?); B has ۱۰; see Nēr.'s rte; C trl. az. — s. B om. ۱ bef. ۱۰; A has ۱; C trl. meh. — t. B ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰; A has no ۱ here. — u. A ۱۰۱۰; B ۱۰۱۰; E ۱۰; C trl. izadān; but Nēr. (?) grāmānām, as if translit.-gehān. — v. B ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰۱۰۱۰; A om. this ۱ — w. A, D, E ۱۰۱۰۱۰; B ۱۰۱۰; C trl. gētihā. — x. so B adds; not so D, E; A decayed: Nēr. om.

36. a. B, C ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰; not so A. — b. A, B, D om. E's ۱ bef. ۱۰. — c. A decayed: ins. ۱ (?) aft. ۱۰; B om. ۱ aft. ۱۰. — d. B has ۱۰- regularly as termination at ۱۰۱۰: so in 35, yet see the next word, the joining of ۱۰- to ۱۰- is hardly accidental. — e. A ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰; B no ۱ here; B's ۱۰ is separated accidentally (?).

37. a. B, C ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰; not so A. — b. A, B have ۱۰-; E ۱۰ (so).

38. a. B, C ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰. — b. A accidentally divides ۱۰; not so B; not so C. — c. C trl. ۱۰ pusar ya ۱۰ pēdākardah (so). — d. A decayed at ۱۰, but hardly so read, seems to be ۱۰ (?) ; C has ۱۰. — e. B, C om. ۱۰; A has it. — f. B as usual with the verbal form ۱۰. g. so A ۱۰; B, C, D, E ۱۰ (sic)

39. a. A decayed at ۱۰. — b. B ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰; A decayed. — c. B om. ۱ bef. ۱۰; A ins. ۱ bef. it. — d. A decayed; C trl. nām-bih-nām. Nēr. nām-nākitam. — e. B has ۱۰; not so C, which has zōār (sic) = ۱۰; A ۱۰.

*Nēr. has antar vanaspatēḥ in the corresponding place. — f. B ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭡𐭢, A no 𐭠. — g. C trl. āb; Nēr. udakam. — h. A decayed at 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣, but so read; B ins. 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 aft. -𐭡𐭢𐭣: A has 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣; -B 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣; C om. 𐭡𐭢𐭣 in both places at -𐭡𐭢𐭣; E 𐭡𐭢𐭣 here, (𐭡𐭢𐭣 above). — i. A, B ins. 𐭠; B no 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭡𐭢 — j. A, B, C om. 𐭡𐭢𐭣 from 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣; B has 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣; D, E have 𐭡𐭢𐭣; Nēr. om. 𐭡𐭢𐭣.

10. a D has the first three words on the margin, but original; D om. 𐭠; A, B show no need for the curves of E; B has 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭡𐭢 over; so C and Nēr. — b. B, C ins. 𐭠. — c. A has 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 (sic). with no 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 which B has. Was this an intentional contraction? A has in later hand over 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 to be inserted aft. 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣; see Nēr.'s puṇyātmanīm — d. As to the error of 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣; see the trl.; all follow it with Nēr. as elsewhere; (𐭠 trl. murād, desire, elsewhere murad (so). — e. B, C, D om. 𐭠𐭡𐭢 from E's 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 which I should be much inclined to follow; A has the word only over in later (?) hand as 𐭠𐭡𐭢; 𐭠 below in line, old.; C has aḷū translated dil above, and not translated below. — f. B, C 𐭠𐭡𐭢; A in later hand, Nēr. kila. — g. Nēr. has: m̐nt'rin̐ vāṇīm gurvīm puṇyātmanīm svāmikāmām... A om. 𐭠𐭡𐭢 before a 𐭠𐭡𐭢 𐭠, which last C, om.; B, C, E have 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣; C trl. murad (-rād). — h. A ins. 𐭠 before an 𐭠𐭡𐭢, or a 𐭠𐭡𐭢; B, C om. the 𐭠𐭡𐭢 of E bef. -𐭡𐭢𐭣; so B ins. 𐭠 bef. -𐭡𐭢𐭣. — i. B om. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭡𐭢. — j. D om. 𐭠𐭡𐭢 bef. 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣; A, B have it; C has aḷū, no trl. in this second place: trl. 'dil' above. — k. B ins. 𐭠 bef. 𐭠𐭡𐭢. — l. Nēr. does not use this expression here; C has it. (The first letter 'o' in the old edition is a misprint). — m. D has 𐭠𐭡𐭢 (?) or (?) — for 𐭠𐭡𐭢: B 𐭠𐭡𐭢 (not 𐭠𐭡𐭢). — n. B, D have 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣; others 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 — o. B marks 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 tradition-ally and erroneously: C curiously reads ōṣān, so generally; but trl. kasān corr.; C trl. aēdūn bih dīn raviṣ. (= bad īn). — p. A means 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣, but has 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣; B 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣; C trl. dēv. — q. A, B. ins. 𐭠 bef. -𐭠𐭡𐭢; B 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭠𐭡𐭢 here, as often;

A decayed. — r. C, D ins. **و** aft. **و**. — s. A, B, E om. **و**. — t. A has **و**; B has **و** for **و**; but see C has **adūk**, so for **aēvak** (or **ḡadūk** (?)); trl. **yak**; Nēr. does not assist here. — u. B divides aft. **و**; A, B have **و**; C has **dēr avar**, trl. **dīr bar-**. — v. A, B om. **و** bef. **و**; D seems **و** (?) ; **و** is supplied; see Nēr.'s **adrḡyarūpiṇīm**. — w. A, B ins. **و** bef. **و**. — x. The above dismisses the necessity for E's parentheses. — y. A, B ins. **و** bef. **و**. — z. So read; E, **و**; A **و**; B **و**; so C renders, and seems to trl. **mazdyašnān** (?); Nēr. has **-nīm**. — The note **aa** of the old edition is here omitted, as I can find no such passage as that to which it refers in the photographed edition of A. The marginal note on my copy of E which occasioned it probably refers to B.

¶ 1. a. B, C ins. **و**; A om. **و**. — b. A **و**; B, C, D, E **و**; B **و**; C **hōšdāštār**; Nēr. **hočadāstaram**. — c. B joins **و** here, with E; so A, but only by lengthening the **و**; C **Ahōrmuzd dād** divided by the end of the line; but C also separates elsewhere. — d. A may join **و**; B separates. — e. A ins. **و**; B om. **و** bef. **و**. — f. A ins. **و**; B, C, E om. it here: Nēr. has **saṇpūrṇaḡub'ān**; **saṇpūrṇa-** only once. — g. A again joins **و**, so; om. final **و**; (not so E, nor C); and A om. the final **و**; not so B, nor C: Nēr. **puṇyaḡub'am**; C trl. **ṣavāb āsānī**. — h. A also om. the **و** of the 2^d **و**; not so B, C, D, E which have it. Nēr. glosses: **sa girih yaḡ caitanyaṇ** (sic) **manuṣyāṇām st'āne dad'āti rakṣatica**.

¶ 2. a. B, C, D ins. **و**; not so A, E. — b. C **va kayān** = **kayānūn** (?) -yān; see **kayānī** at y. 2, 55. Nēr. has curiously only **rājīnūheca**. A ins. **و** bef. **و**; C has trl. **و**; Nēr. **ḡriyān**. — c. A, B, C show no need for the well-meant and once useful curves of E. — d. B om. **و** bef. **و**; A has imperfect **و** or **و** with the marks **W** bef. it aft. the last word; C has **و** in the trl. only. — e. A in- **و**; B, C **و**.

'or ۱۹- aft. ۴۰; C has hērvad, trl. hērbad. (NB), but see Nēr.'s agphītām. — f. D ins. ۱ bef. ۳۳۳۳; B ins. ۵; A may be ۱; C no ۱. — g. A, B ins. ۵ bef. ۳۳۳۳; A, ۳۳۳۳- with the sign o; B ۳۳۳۳ bef. ۳۳۳۳; C trl. abūrnān. Nēr. ācāryāih. — h. A, B, D ins. ۳۳۳۳ aft. ۳۳۳۳; so C ajaš, trl. azaš. A has a sign of division bef. ۳۳۳۳. — i. A, B show no need for E's curves; ۳۳۳۳; C hērvadī, trl. hērbadī. — j. D (?) only has ۳۳ bef. ۳۳۳۳; A, E ۳۳; B, ۳۳; C aē = īn. — k. A ۳۳۳۳, and marks the ۵ = g; so B; so C farhang; Nēr. sadvyavasāyenaca. — l. A, B dispense with E's curves at ۳۳۳۳; so B; C trl. ʒvēš; Nēr. sviyā — m. so A; but B has accidental line drawn through ۳۳۳۳; C has šāyad; Nēr. ʧakyate. n. All would om. E's curves at ۳۳۳۳, B; A ۳۳۳۳; C kardan; Nēr. kartum.

۱۳. a. B, C ins. ۱; A om. ۱; Nēr. omits ۱. — b. B ۳۳۳۳; A decayed; C aharišvang; trl. aršišvang; see Nēr.; A decayed. Nēr. arṣiṣavaṅgham. Nēr. ins. a lengthy gloss. — c. A ins. ۵ bef. ۳۳۳۳ = Nēr. nirvāpajhānam; B has ۱; C trl. $\nu = va$. — d. A, B ins. ۵. — e. B, C ins. ۱ bef. first ۳۳; A om. ۱. — f. C's trl. of this first ۳۳ farzūnah is a mechanical blunder. Nēr. trl. this first ۳۳ cittam. A. B ins. ۵ bef. ۳۳۳۳. — g. A ۳, decayed from ۳۳۳۳ bef. ۳۳۳۳. — h. A decayed; B ins. ۱ bef. ۳۳; so C. — i. A decayed, but may have read ۳۳۳۳ (sic); not so B, wh. has ۳۳; see also D ۳۳۳۳ (??); the original is ۳۳۳۳۳۳۳۳. B; B has ۳۳; C trl. this second ۳۳ rāh = way; Nēr. trl. this second ۳۳ citta-. — j. A decayed; see B ۵. — k. B has ۳۳۳۳ ۳۳ ۳۳; so C trl. u rāh (i) k̄ā'im; Nēr. has-st'itīmca for astešnīh. — l. A, B, C, D have ۳۳۳۳; E has ۳۳ (?). — m. A, B, C ins. ۱. — n. A ۳۳۳۳; B ۳۳۳۳. Nēr. lāb'am; C trl. fāyidah; C divides ۳۳۳۳ ۳۳۳۳; A only joins by lengthened ۳; E joins.

۱۴. a. B, C, ins. ۱ bef. ۳۳۳۳; not so A. — b. A, B, C om. ۱ bef. ۳۳۳۳; E

Avesta words are of plainly Pahlavi value as **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀** = ahyā, **𐬀** = lengthened, **𐬀𐬎** = yā or-ya, not = e here; ahe is no gen. word; so **𐬀** lengthened is very often = Pahl. **𐬀** = y : etc.; See Comm. to Gāthas and ZDMG, Oct. 98. Here C seems to read gāyōd, trl. dašt. — g. A, C, D ins. **𐬀** bef. **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀**; B adds to the previous word. — h D om. **𐬀** bef. **𐬀𐬎**; A, B, C have this **𐬀**. — A partly decayed at **𐬀𐬎**, and E om. **𐬀𐬎** **𐬀𐬎** here; A, B, C ins. **𐬀𐬎** **𐬀𐬎** aft. **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀**; E om. it here. — j. so A, B **𐬀𐬎**; not **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀** (so E bef.); C. -īk. — k. B, C ins. **𐬀𐬎** in **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀**, so reading; A **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀** only. — l. C om. **𐬀** bef. **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀**, or is the **𐬀** of **𐬀𐬎** intended for following **𐬀** = 'va' here. A **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀** **𐬀**; B has **𐬀𐬎**; C vātic; A has double **𐬀** or — ? bef. it. A, B, C, D ins. **𐬀** bef. **𐬀𐬎**; E om. **𐬀**. — m. is decayed at **𐬀** bef. **𐬀𐬎** which A, B have; C trl. u māltāb. — n. A, B, C, D ins. **𐬀** bef. **𐬀𐬎**; E om.; B has **𐬀** over aft. orig. **𐬀𐬎**; A has **𐬀** here. — o. A ins. small **𐬀** aft. **𐬀𐬎**; not so B; B has **𐬀** old over bef. it. — p. Nēr. has svayaṁdattāni. A ins. **𐬀𐬎**; E has sign 'o' (?) bef. **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀** (so B, not **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀** here as so often): C trl. χūd dādah. — q. B, C om. **𐬀** from **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀** A has **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀** (so); Nēr. has svayaṁdātīgea here. — r. A has **𐬀** which E. etc. have; B, C have **𐬀𐬎**; C trl. īn : Nēr. iyam. — s. A om. **𐬀𐬎**; B has it; C has as usual aōš, but trl. kas. — t. B, D. om. **𐬀** aft. **𐬀𐬎**, wh. E has. — u. B has **𐬀𐬎**; A **𐬀𐬎**. — v. A ins. **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀**; B, C, D, E om. it; Nēr. has çakyate. — w. A has **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀** no appendage; B, E **𐬀𐬎**; C vāgūnand, so for vebedūnand. — x. A, B, C ins. **𐬀** bef. **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀**. — y. A **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀**; B **𐬀𐬎**; C **𐬀𐬎**. — z. A has **𐬀**; B has **𐬀** **𐬀𐬎** with E aft. **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀**. — aa. A ins. **𐬀𐬎** here with possible cancelling; B, E om. it here. C damān, trl. pēdāyiš. — bb. A, B, D ins. **𐬀** bef. **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀**; C trl. ašō. — cc. A, D ins. **𐬀** bef. **𐬀𐬎**; B, E, om. **𐬀**. — dd. A, D plainly mean **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀** **𐬀**; A. joins **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀**; B, as most often, **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀**, but probably dividing here; so C divides buzurg hōmand; not so Nēr. wh. has puṇyagurvīh. and no santi; my division [havand] in the Pahl. Text translit. was an oversight.

46. a. B, C ins. **𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥**. — b. so A, D, seem **𐭥𐭥𐭥** (so B); D, E **𐭥𐭥𐭥** (?) ; C has raθvōk = sardār. — c. A has Avesta **𐭥𐭥𐭥**, but allowing its **𐭥** an inherent '𐭥' and adds the Pahlavi **𐭥** = '. B **𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; E **𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — d. A ins. **𐭥** bef. its **𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; not so B ; E om. both. — e. B **𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥** ; A om. **𐭥**. — f. B om. **𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; A **𐭥** with E. — g. **𐭥𐭥𐭥** (joined) ; B **𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — h. B reads **𐭥𐭥𐭥** bef. **𐭥** ; A, E **𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — i. B as usual **𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — j. B **𐭥𐭥**, not **𐭥𐭥** ; D om **𐭥** ; **𐭥𐭥𐭥**, no Mss. — k. A, B **𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; C translit. curiously aṣṣūn (sic) ; trl. hāvan.

47. a. B no **𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥**. — b. B, C ins. **𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥** ; not so A. — c. A decayed at **𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — d. A om. **𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥** ; A has **𐭥** in **𐭥𐭥** over but original ; B has **𐭥**. — e. A greatly decayed at **𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — f. A partly defaced, or cancelled (?) at this termin. **𐭥𐭥**. — g. B om. this **𐭥𐭥𐭥** : A has it with E. — h. A om. **𐭥** bef. this **𐭥𐭥**. B, C om. both **𐭥** and **𐭥𐭥** here. — i. A seems **𐭥** (?) cancelled (?) or defaced bef. **𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — j. A, B, C ins. **𐭥𐭥𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥** ; A **𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; E om. — k. A decayed at **𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — l. B, C om. **𐭥** aft. **𐭥𐭥𐭥**, A has **𐭥** there.

48. a. A decayed at **𐭥𐭥** and **𐭥𐭥**. — b. B, C, ins. **𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥** ; not so A. — c. A decayed at **𐭥𐭥𐭥** ... **𐭥𐭥**. — d. A destroyed at **𐭥𐭥**, but probably so read ; **𐭥𐭥** noted from earlier collation, but since then injured ; B, C, E have **𐭥𐭥** ; C radī : trl. sardārī. (I read **𐭥𐭥𐭥** from analogy only ; no Mss).

49. a. B, C, ins. **𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥** ; A om. **𐭥**. — b. A, C, E **𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; B **𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — c. A, B ins. **𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; D ins. **𐭥** bef. it : not so C ; no sign of dative in the Pahlavi. — d. A **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** (sic) ; doubtful first **𐭥** whether = ' or va ; B **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; D, E **𐭥𐭥𐭥**, no **𐭥𐭥𐭥**. — e. A **𐭥𐭥** ; B **𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; C text dādah, trl. dādah (?). — f. B ins. **𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; A om. **𐭥** ; A has **𐭥**, but may = ' ; C no **𐭥** ; C trl. īzadi(i) mīnū. — g. B om **𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥** ; A has **𐭥**. — h. A, B om. **𐭥** bef. **𐭥𐭥𐭥** ; E has **𐭥** ;

B ins. 𐬨 bef. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 ; A, E, om. this 𐬨 ; A has 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 ; B, C 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀. — j. B 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 as usual in the verbal forms, but not invariably. — k. A, D 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀, B both 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀's separate. — l. B ins. 𐬨 bef. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 ; A om. 𐬨 here. — m. A 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 pointed ; B pointed only at 𐬨 as = y-, so C ; E 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀. — n. so A, no 𐬨 bef. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 ; 𐬨 in B stands close to the previous word : C seems 𐬨 here. — n. so A, B 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 ; C text hūstōfrīd.

50. a. A, B have 𐬨 bef. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀.

51. a. A om. 𐬨 bef. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 ; B, D, E have 𐬨. — b. A, B, D ins. 𐬨 aft. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀- ; E no 𐬨 here. — c. A decayed.

52. a. A 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 (sic) ; B 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬀 (sic) ; D 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬀, E 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 : C trl. rapīōvin. A has following 𐬨 attached to the last letter of 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀.

53. a. A decayed at -𐬨𐬀 ; B 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 ; -𐬨, 𐬨 have here obviously the force of Av. 𐬨, 𐬨 only ; A decayed at present. D ins. an extra 𐬨 ; C uzāīrīn ; trl. uzērin. — b. A decayed at 𐬨 aft. -𐬨𐬀.

54. a. A. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (?) ; E 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 ; B, C seem to avoid the long 𐬨 in 𐬨𐬀-, reading 𐬨- ; but the long 𐬨 of A, E has again properly merely Avesta value of 𐬨 which is short 𐬨 ; B has -𐬨𐬀𐬀-𐬨 phonetic ; C trl. aīvīsrūōrim. — b. D seems 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 (?) ; E 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 ; A has 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 ; B 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 (so) ; C aībīgāī. — c. A decayed at 𐬨 aft. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀. — d. D ins. 𐬨 bef. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 ; A has no 𐬨.

55. a. C trl. hūšahīn.

56. a. A 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 ; B 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 ; D, E 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 ; C trl. hastī. — b. as usual, but not

invariably, 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥; so C has hōmōnd; trl. hast. — c. for 𐭪𐭫𐭮 C has hend, trl. and, wh. is also Parsi. — B has 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (so); B, C om. 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥; A, E have it; I now om. the note d. which stands in the old edition.

57. a. B, C ins. 𐭪 bef. 𐭪𐭫; A, D, E om. 𐭪. — b. A, B, C ins. 𐭪 bef. 2nd 𐭪𐭫; D, E no 𐭪. — c. B, C ins. 𐭪 bef. 3^d 𐭪𐭫; A, D, E no 𐭪.

58. a. B, C ins. 𐭪 bef first 𐭪𐭫; A, E, om. 𐭪. — b. A, B, C, D om. E's 𐭪 bef. 𐭪𐭫; so best understood. — c. A om. D, E's 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; B, C have it; A decayed. — d. so D, E; A has 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; B has 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; C -šn, trl. bī-ḡvāhiš; D, E have 𐭪𐭫𐭮. — e. A ins. 𐭪 bef. 𐭪𐭫; B, C no have 𐭪. — f. C sūdak (-ī(?)) = trl. fāyidah. Nēr. has pramādena. A, B. 𐭪𐭫𐭮.

59. a. B om. 𐭪 bef. 𐭪𐭫; A has. 𐭪 — b. B, C ins. 𐭪 bef. 𐭪𐭫𐭮; A, E om. 𐭪. — c. A, B 𐭪𐭫𐭮; so E; C translits. g-ō-ā r-ī, and translates ḡvāhiš (ḡvāniš (?) u dīgar bār nīz, dō ār (?) seems to have been seen; ḡvā-should point to an *alternative* reading -𐭪𐭫𐭮 for -𐭪𐭫; hence the alternative translation (?). Nēr. dvigunātaram. — d. A, E have terminal appendage; B adds 𐭪 for it; while C never expresses it; Nēr. has as usual merely karomi. — e. A, B, C, D ins. 𐭪𐭫 bef. 𐭪𐭫𐭮; E. om. 𐭪𐭫𐭮. — f. the second personal appears through a curious slip. A has 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥; E 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥; B 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥 (so); or is 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥 used conditionally for the 1st person ?. — g. C ins. 𐭪𐭫 bef. 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥; A, B, D, E om. it.

60. a. A, B, C 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥; E 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; D 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. — b. A, B ins. 𐭪𐭫𐭮; C meh, trl. buzurg. Nēr. mahattarāh. D, E om. — c. A, B ins. 𐭪. — d. B om. 𐭪 bef. 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥; A D, E have 𐭪.

61. a. B 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥, 𐭪𐭫𐭮 as so often in the verbal form; not necessarily so in the nom. adj.; C, hōmand, trl. hastand. A decayed, at the beginning aft. 𐭪𐭫𐭮.

62. a. B ins. ۱ bef. 2nd ۱۶; A decayed, but probably ۱; C, E have no ۱ bef. 2nd ۱۶. — b. B, C ins. ۱ bef. 3^d ۱۶; A decayed; D, E no ۱.

63. a. D seems ۵ for final ۵ in ۵۵۵۵۵۵۵۵; B -۵۵; D ۵۵۵-; A decayed at the sign ۵۵-, wh. A has.

64. a. D. seems to om. the second ۵, having ۵۵; A, B, C have this ۵. — b. A ins. ۵ bef. ۱۶ aft. ۵۵, and had a cancelled ۵ ۵۵ for which a correct ۵۵ is substituted above We might read ۱۶ ۵۵ ۵۵ as below; B no ۵ bef. ۱۶. — c. A has ۵ bef. ۱۶. — d. A has ۵ bef. ۵۵۵۵۵۵۵۵; the first ۱ seems faint.

65. a. So A (?), but it may (?) mean ۵-; see the original however; E has ۵- in ۵۵۵۵۵; so C -mīm. B seems ۵۵۵۵۵ with ۵ and ۵۵ joined; note in passing that with B an additional ۵ often follows final ۵ in other places instead of the appendage as in ۵ in the other Mss; see here the original ۵۵۵۵۵-; but this form in B might have a conjunctive sense without the appendage. — b. A *۵۵۵۵۵۵۵۵ (-sn-); E *۵۵۵۵۵۵۵۵ (-sn-); B ۵۵۵۵۵۵۵۵۵; C mahīstī, trl. mazyasnī (-ī(?)); Nēr. mājdaīasnīm. — c. A om. E 's -۵- from ۵۵۵۵۵۵۵۵, but B has ۵۵۵۵۵۵۵۵۵۵; ۵ = kh, ۷, as phonetic filling out of the syllable; see ۵- used similarly in 54; so C om. — d. A, B om. ۵ bef. ۵۵۵۵۵۵۵; E has ۵. — e. A ins. ۵ bef. ۵۵۵۵۵; B has no ۵. — f. D, E ۵۵۵۵۵; A decayed; B ۵۵۵۵۵۵; C may be šāhā, trl. dēv.; Nēr. -devām. g. A, B, E have ۵۵۵۵۵ here bef. ۵۵۵۵۵; C also bef. — h. B ins. ۵ bef. ۵۵۵۵۵۵; A has a rather faint ۵. — i. A decayed aft. ۵۵۵۵۵; A 's relics point to ۵۵۵۵۵۵۵۵; so B ۵۵۵۵۵. — j. A, ۵۵۵; D, E ۵۵۵; C dādīstān.

66. a. A ins. ۵ bef. ۵۵۵۵۵; B om. ۵. — b. A decayed; D ins. ۵ bef. ۵۵۵۵۵; not

so B. — c. A decayed. — d. so A. — e. B. ۱ bef. ۱۰۰۰; A hardly. — f. A, B ۱۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰; B ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰۰۰ so here, no final ۱; A decayed. — g. B ins. ۱ making ۱۰۰۰; A ۱۰۰۰۰۰, no initial ۱ in A here, nor in C; Nēr. prakāṣanāya.

67. a. B, C ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰۰۰; A now decayed — b. A decayed; C, D, E ۱۰۰۰; B, C point ۱. — c. A om. ۱ bef. ۱۰۰۰; B has ۱. — d. B, C ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰۰۰; A hardly. — e. B, C ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰۰۰; A, E om. ۱; A ۱۰۰۰; B ۱۰۰۰. — f. B ۱۰۰۰۰; A, E ۱۰۰۰۰. (۱۰۰۰ = savang).

68. a. A om. ۱; B, C, D ins. ۱ bef. *۱۰۰۰ (-sn-); A no ۱. — b. A ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰۰۰; B no ۱; but A has ۱۰۰ (so); B ۱۰۰; C by mistake uses it as a translation only, apparently for u asnih (?); om. it in the text. — c. A, C, E ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰۰۰۰; B om. ۱; C has u māh. — d. A ins. ۱ aft. ۱۰۰; others have ۱; C om. ۱. — e. A hardly has ۱ bef. ۱۰۰۰; E not; B has this ۱; C has ۱. — f. B, C ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰۰۰; so, with final ۱; A, E om. ۱; A decayed at end of ۱۰۰; C trl. ۱۰۰ zyādah. — g. B ins. ۱ bef. ۱۰۰; C, E have no ۱. — h. A decayed; but see ۱۰۰ above; C trl. mašhūr (so). [(۱۰۰ seldom has the added stroke ۱.)]

N. B. It has been found necessary at times from lack of types to use the sign ۱۰ for ۱۰ marked with *, also in a few cases in the old edition to resort to transliteration. Indulgence must also be requested for the differing transliteration of the Pahl., Pers., and Skt. here, which follows that used in a periodical. Also, in reprinting, two additional pages of letter press have brought the numbering of the pages into confusion; read pages 29, 30 below as 29^a, 30^a. It is to be hoped that the very urgent need and demand for these texts may form a sufficient excuse for such trivial irregularities.

Appendix.

The closer Sanskrit¹ equivalents of Yasna I in sequence to those of Yasna XXVIII in the Festgruss of the late Professor R. von Roth, 1894, and to those of Yasna XLIV in the 'Actes' of the Eleventh Congress of Orientalists held at Paris in 1897¹. With regard to the great utility of such translations of Avesta into Sanskrit it is necessary to cite the important remarks made by the distinguished Professor Oldenberg of Kiel. In his Vedic Religion, page 27, he states:² "that the language of the older Vedic Hymns approaches "that of many parts of the Avesta nearer than it does that "of the Mahābhārata . . . that the difference in the course "of sounds (Lautwandel) (between Veda and Avesta) is not "greater than that between the more separated dialects of "Greece, or between that of the Old-High-German and that of "the Old-Low-German. . . . The Vedic diction—he continues— "has an important series of characteristic favourite expressions

¹ Yasna XXIX is also similarly prepared for the press, as are, in fact, the remaining Gāthic Pieces, approximately.

² The distinguished Author here cites Bartholomae's very able translation into Sanskrit of four lines from Yasna 10. 8: see his Handbuch, Preface, page V. He also does me the honour to cite my somewhat more extended Sanskrit version of the entire Yasna XXVIII, in the Festgruss of Roth, p. 193 flg. But it may well be that the thirteen words of Yasna 10. 8 really express the 'Soul of Vedic poetry' (die Seele vedischer Dichtkunst) more fully than do the two hundred and ten* words in my Sanskrit Yasna XXVIII. I should add that I received the personal thanks of the eminent Vedist, Professor v. Roth, for this article in his Festgruss. Judging from the above, I should be pleased to acknowledge the claim sometimes made "viz, that Avesta" is the fifth (?) Book of the Veda".

“which are common to it with the Avesta, but not common to it with the later Indian.”

“The near relation of the metrical forms (in Veda and Avesta), and especially that of the poetical character (in each) comes also into consideration. When one has remarked that entire Avesta strophes, simply upon the basis of a comparative sound-system, can be translated into the Vedic, this opinion should be further extended, for such a translation would often not only result in correct Vedic words and sentences, but in verses (or strophes) out of which the soul of Vedic poetry seems to speak.”

Yasna I.¹ (Imān yajñān dātūr²) nivedāyāmi saṅskārayāmi (yajñām) dad'ūśaḥ (-ō's-) Āsurasya Mahād'āḥ (Sumed'āsaḥ -o vā), revātaḥ³, svārvataḥ -o), māhiṣṭasya⁴, vāsiṣṭasya, śrēṣṭasya⁵ ēa, (1(2)) krod'īṣṭasya⁶ -é'ti(?); [kīla krod'ītamasya saṅskṛta-

¹ The accents have been here added, at times rather redundantly, in order to recall to the reader a possible Avesta accent upon every word; irregularities of combination and sandhi have been also occasionally permitted for a similar reason.

² As a name for the universal Creator see RV. X. 190, 3: Suryācandramāsau dātā yat'ā'pursām akalpavat, divān ēa pṛ'tivīm ca'ntārikṣam ā'to svāḥ.

³ Of Indra, cp RV., VIII. 2. 11 . . . Indre'mām sōmān śṛṇōm revāntān hi tva śṛṇōm. 'Rich', in the ordinary sense of the word could not so well apply to a prominent God like Indra. The Avesta sense of 'spiritual wealth', or 'splendour'; see the Pahl. and Pers., is indicated also for the Indian; see the following svārvataḥ here.

⁴ So accented after māhiṣṭa, and almost all such formations.

⁵ Notice that the exceptional śrēṣṭa to śri is also Avestic, see sraoṣṭahya ēa here, the Vedic form is used of Savitār, etc.

⁶ Krod'in- is not accented; yet see krod'at; and, as to the primary suffix, we have d'ārmiṣṭa- from d'ārman, brāhmiṣṭa- from brahman, and drād'īṣṭa- from drāḍā. One would be inclined to accept a krod'īṣṭa with primary suffix here, with the Avesta form; yet see the many regular occurrences of -itama- and -intama- and -āntama-. As to the Avesta cast of meaning in this krod'in, so accenting with most of the -in suffixes, it cannot but have a wholesome effect upon our general estimates, when we see the word put in context in a Sanskrit sentence, though krūd'yati is not so 'clearly used of 'helpful anger' for the worshippers, in the Rg Veda, and perhaps my gloss above is some-

vedá'rtā'nugunatvéna(-āi'v-) evām; kila sárveb'yah(-yo) duškṛd-
b'yah svađ'arma-pratikurvadb'yah(-o't-)atiśayena (-yam) krú-
d'yati(-i'ti). (Avesta-pahlavi-b'āšyā'nudešéna tú* drāđ'istī't'asya*
(-é'ti), kila sárva-svakṣatrá-d'armā'dikarūṇ pratikṣya drāđ'istī't'ah
(-ó'sti), b'ūyīšt'am dñhāti-¹ kila, svapūjīkān(?) kród'ena(-āi's-)aiś-
-varatamañ rákṣati(?), dñhāti¹ ča*(-ārt'am kimčit kṛčč'reṇa tú-))
*krátumatišt'asya² (-é'ti śābda-kālpā'nukṛty-ārt'a-mātram evām;
kila krátumattamasya* (prācētaśtamasya (-é'ti náva-saṅskṛta-
vidyā'rt'ena)), sukālpataśmasya² (-é'ti pūnar āpiy anukṛty-
ārt'ena; -anyātā ná kāt(-č)-čaná)-(-ā'r-)rtāt (-té) ča (sācā (-tēna
sahā)), āpānātamasya³; (kila yāh(-ó) nah(-o's-) asmā-durb'āgat-
vāt(-d) durbalatāyāś ča (apa'tāraṇā'rt'am nēdišt'am upagācč'ati),
(1(3)) sudāmanah(-o)⁴, varu*-rāb'asa(h) (uti-dāśya⁵, nah(-o)

what venturesome in this direction. We should be on our guard against seeing too much 'altruism' in texts; 'egoism' is more realistic. The Indian sense here certainly looks the most natural, and it is possible that we should take the Avesta form in the same light in this passage; 'the most fiercely angry' (ὀλοώτερος) in the egoistic sense is more consonant to the situation than merely 'the most firm'. The 'solidity' as of 'wood', is the 'carried over' sense.

¹ So accented in Wh., but see Gr

² Not, however, in the more accepted Vedic sense as of Indra, the Aśvins, etc. 'most strong', rather in its later sense of 'most clever'. *Sukālpa as = 'well-bodied'.

³ Or more run together; 'yo no asmā-durgati-bāndanat tarānārt'ena . . nēdišt'am āpānā(h) ayāte'. One would have thought that Whitney would have mentioned these interesting nēdīvañs, nēdišt'a, under his nah, but for his good reason. For analogy see RV. IX, 10, 5: āpānāso vīvāsvato jānanta uśāso b'āgam sūra anvāñ vi tanvate. But the sense is hardly altruistic in this passage, whereas our context here in Y I fairly justifies an altruistic rendering, though I critically shrank from venturing upon it in S.B.E. XXXI; see vo a(r)śahya (not -hē) (ā)panotemō-, y 57, 4, which cannot mean 'who attains his (own(?)) ends (egoistically) more completely than a(r)śa'. The sense 'high' is totally inadequate for āpānāśah. For a possible altruism see Vedic āgamīšt'a- of Indra, the Aśvins; so also of some of them as vāsupati-

⁴ I have shifted the accent from dāmān (in accordance with analogies, perhaps su-dāmānah. We can hardly write sud(d)ah-manas(h), as '-man' seldom, or never, follows a Sanskrit-as, and while a sudaś would have at least raśmān, to raś, as an analogon; yet Av. 1 does not so naturally represent an -aś-. I, however, accept sudāman (hardly as the proper name here) only reluctantly.

⁵ Cp. the several 'favourable' uses of rab'as: 'Agni gives it' (145, 3); see rab'-odām of Indra, VI, 22, 5 (463, 5). See Roth's Festgruss, p. 193, note 1. Or,

varu*-rápnasah(-o), -varu*-rapšáyatah(-o) vā; (-é 'ti kadācit syát-, kila asmá-dárma-váraṇāni (várāṇi) virapšáyati, ānan-déna ēa saṁpuráyati),-

(1(4)) yáh(-ó) nah(-o) dad'āú, yáh(-ó) nah(-s) tatákša, yáh(-ó) nah(-s) tatré*, (kila, yáh(-ó) nah(-o 's-) asmá-durgati-bánd'anāt*, svapúnya-dárma-pakšáya hetóh(-r) asmāb'ir evám etávad ugrám visoḍ'āt*, trayám* (trāyām(?))¹ čakára),--

yáh(-ó) Manyúh Švāntátamah; (kila sárvešān púnyānān manyúnām *rtáva(n?)tamah(-ó² 'sti)).

(2(5)) (Imám yajñám) nivedáyāmi saṁskārayāmi Vāsave Mánasé(-'pi' ēa) (-a r-), Rtáya Vásiṣṭāya, Ksatráya Váryāya, švāntáyai Arámataye, Sarvátātib'yām Amṛtatváb'yām (iti; kila Sarvátātī(-ty-)-amṛtatváb'yām)³,

(2(6)) Góh*(-s) takšaṇāya(-é⁴ 'ti); kila Góh(-s) tanúe(-vāi)* taṣṭāya (-é 'ti), Góšča(-ā 't-) ātmāne (-šábda-mūl(y)atah(-o) vā, -- ruvaṇa*-

perhaps to rapš with an unaccented suffix -nas, rápšnasas(h) But the losing -š here should impede us, and we may have to fall back upon the other suggestion. Aside from the nasalised forms aṇš, daṇš, naṇš, b'raṇš, š seldom elsewhere closes a word after a consonant.

Rap(-lap) would not correspond so closely as to immediate sense, but if there be indeed a rap = 'to praise', we might consider it here. varu* rápnas = 'having, or 'receiving' endearing praise'. As this suffix seldom, or never carries the accent, I place it necessarily upon the root.

¹ For a participial perfect to a stem in -a cp hva (hu) with hvayám čakára* (čakara). See visoḍ'āt, thus cited. Or visoḍ'āt.

² In Iranian ideas the 'august' was the 'sacred' when regarded as causing prosperity. Most other writers regarded speñta as equalling 'holy'; practically it may be said to do so. The Vedic sense of 'helpful' might be better than my 'august'(?); see however, the Pahl. Vedists need not to be reminded of the sense of 'zeal' in manyú, aside even from the sense of 'righteous anger'. Manyú as personified would be, like all the 'Anger' of the Gods, 'righteous'. *Ved. 'u' retained.

³ As in mitráváruṇab'yām in which the two members seem to keep each its own accent; so, according to this we should have sárvatātī(-y-)-amṛtatváb'yām.

⁴ So preferring to the rendering to takšan = 'hewer' 'fashioner', and so 'creator'; acceding to the suggestion of the Pahl., Pers., and Skt., with change of accent; compare for meaning taṣṭi = 'carpenter's handwork'; see takšaṇa = 'hewing' (Or tatré in 1(4) might be regarded as equalling 'nourished').

śrūt(-d)¹-ātmāne(-a īti) át're², ((-e't'-) at'aryāi vā; kila agnāye) Ásu-rasya *Mahād'āḥ (Sumed'āsaḥ (-o) vā) yetúṣṭamāya³ (-ā-) āmr̥tā nāin⁴ švāntānām, [(īti, kila viśveśām āmr̥tānām švāntātamānām *rtāva(n)tamānām ēa(-ā-) át'ar*, agnir̥ vā, svapūjikān dur-b'agat-vāt(-d) dur-balatāyāś ēa (apa-(?)) -tāraṇā'rt'āin, b'ūyīṣṭam āyeté].

(3(7)) (Imāin yajñām) nivedāyāmi saṅskārāyāmi (-y) Ahanyē-b'yah (-ó 'h-) (Āhar-yajātēb'yah (-o)), rtāsya (-a r-) rtū-pati-b'yah, —Sāvānaye⁵ (-a īti śābda-kālpā'nukṛtyārt'a-mātram evāin tāt'āb'ūteṣu vidyā- st'āleṣu*(-vi-) īti, yāt'ā(-ā-) āvaśyam-); [kila sōma-sāvā-prātāḥ-kālāya yajātāvat(-ē) cētasa- (-sāu'd-) uddiṣṭāya, pūjītāya ēa, ārad'āya ēa, -asmāi (-ā r-)) rtāvane (imāin yaj-ñām . . . saṅskārāyāmi(-y)], rtāsya(-a r-) rtū-pataye.

(3(8)) . . . *Šavasāye⁶ (Šavasīne vā), [kila Šavasīne sūrya-*(-yo-) -utkramā-kālāya sārva-jāgat(-d)-vṛdd'idāya(-dé), tad-ār-t'am evāin nūnāin saṅskārāyāmi], -Viśyāya ēa; (kila Viś-pālana-yajātāya) . . .

(3(9)) (Imāin yajñām) nivedāyāmi saṅskārāyāmi Mitrāsya⁷

¹ I think that the idea of 'buzzing', 'humming' in the ears: cp. g'ōša, gave the early suggestion of the 'soul' to the Iranians, while the 'breath' recalled it to the Indians; see also ravana.

² Át're from át'arvan; yet, the -van suffix generally leaving the accent upon the root, -át'arvan is not decisive for át're.

³ See again āgamiṣṭ'a. For accent see miḍ'ūṣṭama, to miḥ; cp. Av. yoi-ḥema, y. 28.8, from the believer to the Yažat. See yemūs, etc., to yam.

⁴ Is not the fire here almost reckoned among the Ámr̥tas? Undoubtedly, but only in a wider, and not in the more technical, sense. Ved. 'n' in rtāva(n)ta-.

⁵ The accents are here again, as throughout, often redundantly placed. Cp. sāvi of the sōma pressing, but better a-sāvin. Has the accent in sōma anything to do with the spread-out '-ao-' of the haoma of Avesta, though ao is there débris from an original a + u = 'o'. Or is the 'a' of '-ao-' purely epenthetic?

⁶ A masc. Šavasīn is more convenient, to correspond with the other words in apposition. For source cp. also Šavasī: cp. śākti and -ti- in comp., atasī, m., etc. I gather that *Šavasī (Šavasīn) is here referred to the 'morning', on account of the sunrise and the early sun-strength. The viś-, or hamlet-, godlet, is again recalled on account of the early sacrifices in which all would be interested. Av. Sā- = Sa-.

⁷ We do not forget that Indra was sahasračakṣus- in Rāmāyaṇa and sahasraṇayana in Mahāb.; -g'ōša-śrūt-, to recall the Av. word for 'ear'. I suppose

(-o 'r-) urú-gavyūteh¹ sahásra-(-g'óša-śrút-) -kárṇasya (-ā 'y-) ayútačákṣoḥ (-r) uktá-námnah (-o), yajatásya, Ramaṇasya ča Suvástrasya (-é 'ty evám řju-b'āsā-(-ā-)-anusaraṇena; kila Ramaṇasya yávasa-sťánasya (-é 'ti) kśétra-třṇa-vástrasya yajatáb'āvanam iva četanayā (-ā-) āropitasya. [(-Pahlavi-b'āšyā'nusāreṇa tú . . . yajñāni . . . Ramaṇasya Svadayitúr, Sváttreḥ (-r) (su-áttreḥ² (-r) -vā (-é 'ti) śábda-kálpā'nukřty-ártam . . .; kila R. Sváttreḥ (-r) asmá-rása (-e 'n-) indriyásya yajatásya, -tadgrahaṇa-śákti-dásya-(-dálh(-dó)* vā), asmá-b'ójanam nirujanm susvāduṁ křṇvatá(h) (ity evám; -*pari-matí-b'raméṇa tú, madmatyā dřšyáte)] —,

(4(10)) 'Aram-pitumáte³ ča,

(4(11)) Pradađ'át-psave⁴ (-a ity-), (asmát-pašu-(psu(?)-pravrđđ'idé (-dāya)), 'Jantúmāya⁵ ča (-é 'ty-) asmá-Jantú-pá-lana-yajatāya).—

that Mitrā here intervenes on account of the connection with the sun; and so with the early sacrifice, and possibly Raman Hyastra may have some reference to the breaking of fast at the morning meal*

¹ Here however? the Avesta vaouru or 'vouru' is undoubtedly used more in its sense of 'wide'. The question arises whether vaouru or vouru is here in its original shape; why should urvapa appear for 'wide water', while Av. vaouru (vouru-) here appears for 'wide fields' beside Vedic urú-. Of course the fuller form 'varu might equal urú- as in urú-gav-. The fuller Av. form v(a)ouru may be used in either of the two different senses of var as well as its other forms, as 'widely enclosing' and, 'choosing with endeared selection'.

² Cp attri = 'devouring', Wh.; so also erroneously the Pahl. and Pers., and Ner's Sanskrit here. With regard to the writing ř or 'h' of Avesta h(ř)vastra with the 'v' elevated, I must again express my astonishment; the Av. compositum for ř + v. or for h + v is our most striking instance of the use of pure Pahlavi signs in the Avesta alphabet. Here are two letter-signs otherwise totally strange to the Avesta alphabet — in their here particular use —, which, like the corresponding ř and v in the Indian, have also nothing whatever to do with each other save as they combine to form a syllable like all other characters; and, as Pahlavi signs in the Avesta alphabet, they afford — if needed(!) — clear additional proof of a transition-period.

³ Possibly with some reference to the full mid-day meal; at all events 'high-noon' seems indicated, see the few áram- forms, with the accent, now on áram, now on the other member. (Is it conceivable that any still doubt a transitional period?)

⁴ Whether psu be to psa? ⁵ See note 1 on page 103

(4(12))¹ (Imān̄ yajñām) nivedāyāmi saṅskarāyāmi(-y) R̥tasya Vāsiṣṭasya (pūnar āpy-) ātur̥ ēa (Ātre vā²; kila yajñā-vēdy-at̥aryā(h), (Agnēr vā)-yajñām) Āsurasya *Mahādāh̄ (Sumedāsaḥ (-so) vā), - [(Yajatā-agnēh̄(-r) yāh̄(-yā) R̥tēna Vāsiṣṭēna yajñē(-a) evān̄ nītya-sahāyah̄(-ó 'sti), tēna nunām̄ āpi(-i-) imān̄ yajñān̄ dvāyoh̄(-os-) yajatāyoh̄(-os) samanā (kālē) saṅskārāyāmi)] . . .

(5(13)) (I-.y-.) n-. s-. *Ud-aharīṇāya³ (*Ud-ahanyāya vā):--

(5(14)) (i-.y-.) n-. s-. Pradadāt(-d)-⁴ virāya (yajatāya (-ā'sm-) asmā-kṣatrā-yūne⁵ virayāve pravṛddi-dāya(-dé), asmā-pūnya-*Dāsyumāya⁶ (-é 'ti, [kila asmā-dārma-deśā-d̥rtē *pūnya-dāsyu-(-vīti)-yajatāya (-é 'ti, śābda-kālpār̥ta-mātram̄ evām; kila asmā-jānma-b'ūmi-deśā-pālana⁷-yajatāya⁷], r-. r-. r-. . .

(5(15)) (Imān̄ yajñām) nivedāyāmi saṅskārāyāmi(-y) amūṣya bṛhatāh̄(-ó 's-) āsurasya, Apān̄ Nāptur̥⁸, apās̄ ēa vīsvasyā(h) *Mahādā-dattāyās̄ ēa (Sumedā(h-?) (-d̥ó(?)-) -d̥itāyā(h)-asya(?)).

¹ The accented-ma suffix generally follows consonants, yet see b̄imā, tumā cited by Wh. The-ma suffixes seem to adhere mostly to masculine forms.

² Cp naras; see at̥aryān. The-van suffix seldom carries the accent, yet we can place the accent upon a-of at̥ar. The fire was naturally the instrument and emblem of R̥tā Vāsiṣṭa, as it, the fire, was the central object in the sacrifice.

³ ūd + āhar + īna, thus for Av. Uḡayēirina; cp udāyana, ūditī, etc. which would seem indeed to point rather to the 'rising day' than a vyāhne which reminds us more of the later afternoon, but then, early afternoon is always the 'increasing height' of the day. For the many accented -in suffixes after -r see RV.; I should not prefer āhar-ūd-āyana. I here leave the accentuation purposely redundant.

⁴ For accent, and interior present participial form, cp kṣayādvira, according to the general rule; virā seldom retains its accent in Vedic composita. In the few composita with kṣatrā it does not retain its accent.

⁵ Was the kṣatrā-caste here referred to?

⁶ The -ma affix has the accent occasionally, otherwise dāsyu-.

⁷ The 'Province guardian Angel' was naturally associated with the one who 'furthered the virile population'. Recall in passing that the dāsyu was only 'evil' in the Veda. Not of course in close and immediate antagonism to the actual Mazda-worshipping population, but in the same sense hostile to some neighbours of adverse creed, or policy; though there is something inherently 'evil' in the word, unlike the word 'deva' and others, if to das = 'to waste', or dd 'das' itself acquires its 'evil' sense from 'border' animosity, --perhaps to 'dagh' =-pālana (so accented according to analogy).

⁸ Oṡ Agni, son of the clouds; notice that he is not a 'demon' like some other

(6(16)) (I- y- n- s- Ab'itrātrīmāya¹ (Ab'īśrūt-karṇāya (-é 'ti vā), Ab'igāyāya*,

(6(17)) . . . Pradaḍ'āt(-d)-viśvām-*suḥivātave² (-a iti; kīla sārva-suḥivitām pravṛdd'idāya (-dé), *Jarat'uṣṭratamāya ča (-é 'ti) r- r- r-.

(6(18)) (Imān yajñām) nivedāyāmi saṅskārāyāmi(-y)rtāvanān 'Pravartīnām³ [(āpi ča (-é 'ti śabda-kalpānukṛtyārt'a-mātrañ tū (-vi-) iḥā viśeṣataḥ; kīla, Pitā- (-rā-')(?)) -ātmānām, pitā-mahānām pāretānām, kūla-yajatānām, pit'tamānām ča)], *Gnā-nām; (*gnān vā (-ā-) āpi ča) puru-vīrāṇām⁴ (kīla *gnānām puru-vīra-sūnām, pātnīnām puru-vīra-jānitriṇām), Parivatsarī-ṇāyās ča suksītēḥ.

(6(19)) . . . Āmasya ča sūtaṣṭasya *sūrod'asya⁵ (-é 'ti)

'devās' in Avesta; observe the distinction of 'clean waters' made by Ahura, (as against the 'unclean' made by Angra Mainyu).

¹ Cp. *sutrātrā* Some writers would compare indian *tsāriti* = 'to creep on' as if of the 'creeping on' of night Cp. the 'creeping on of winter' of Vend. 7, 27 (69); but in view of *ab'igāya*, the 'watchman' of the night, gives the hint here; recall *Sraoša* as the 'watchguard of the night'. We might consider a reading in the sense of *ab'īśrāvā*- also. The 'listening night-watch'. Cp. *Śrūtkaṇa*, -ṇas -ṇam of Agni and Indrā. Forms with the suffix -tra have various accents in connection with it This suffix -tra followed by -ma becomes -trima, there being evidently a sympathy between an 'r' as in 'tr-' and a following 'i'; -trima- having a more natural sound. The accent falls upon the 'i' in two at least out of the few occurrences cited by Wh., but only in one of the two Rgvedic cases. **ab'igāyāya* so *ab'igāya* = '(guard) over the *gāya*', 'household guard' has little or no reference to 'singing'.

I would now emend my rendering of 1883-87 in S.B.E. XXXI, in the above sense

² Cp. the form *viśvam-inva* Agne; notice the acc. case-form included within the frequently occurring compositum; see it used also of *Puśān*, the *Marūts*, etc.

³ Cp. *ab'yavartin*. see *vartin*, with - accent; read *vartin*, and note the frequently accented -in forms in the Rg-Veda.

⁴ As we have a *vantār* as 'possessor', it is not irrational to think of a possible **vantvā*- which would correspond to the Av. form from *van*, *vāva*-; cp., for form only, *hantvā* (and *hāntva*, this is, however, not the abstract -tvā which we need here, whether of identical ultimate origin is a question)

⁵ The few composita in -datta have the accent on the prior member, but we might read the participles of either *da*, or *d'a*. This note applies to p. 105.

kīla *súrūd'asya vṛtrag'nāḥ (-ó 's-) Ásura-dātasya-dattasya, -d'itasya vā, Vānantyās¹ ēa (vānitr(i)yā(h), vanvatyā(h)) Uparātataḥ.

(7(20)) (Imām yajñām) n-. s-. Uśasiṇāya² (-é 't-) iti śabda-kālpa-vat-(d)- māttram; kīla uśāḥ(-á)-usrá-kalá-yajātāya . . .

(7(21)) (I-. y-.) n-. s-. B'rājāye (-a iti, śabda-kālpa'r'tam, B'r'gave³ vā (-e 't-) itivat kadācid vedyā'r'tam ihá syāt'), Ma-nyāya⁴ (-é 'ti, grhya-yajātāya).

(6(22)) (Imām yajñām) nivedāyāmi saṁskārāyāmi Śraoṣasya⁵ [(-é- 'ti), śabda-kalpā'nukṛtyārt'ena (-ai-v-) evām (tāt'ā nityaṁ púnar āpi(-y)), asmīn deśanā-sfāla-sfāne viśeṣataḥ(-o) gurvārt'e

¹ From the stem vānantī (Wh), see also the pres. vanoti.

² So for Av. ušahinai, to uśas (-h), for form cp. śavasin to śavas, or to śavasa; so ūkt'a-śasīn, to śas = śans, or to śansa; see for form only. suśa-vasin, to suśāvasa (to vu). See the -ina forms in the Rk.

³ So for Av. herejyau; cp. b'raji, f. see also b'rgu, under b'raj; so Wh, the original 'j' would here hold as in aḥ, to indra aḥ.

⁴ To manyā for form only; see manā to man, cp. also Māna as proper name of a r̥ṣi, to 'ma', or to 'man'.

⁵ Cp. Śraūṣṭi = 'obedient', Śraoṣat = 'a cry in sacrifice', 'calling on the God to hear' (?). It is more critical to refer the idea of Śraoṣa first to the 'willing listening' of the Gods to the effective sacrifice as dāt'a rājanāṁ śruṣṭimāntam at RV., V, 54 (408), 14. Śruṣṭi, and, in this sense Śraoṣa, was certainly the 'God of Public Worship', 'engaging the ear' of Ahura, yet even here he was always the 'willing hearing', the 'acceptance of the sacrifice', seldom or never the 'severe over-hearing', for punishment. This is proved by the 'hearing' (sraoṣa) in the household, which could not possibly be confined to the idea of 'God's hearing' of our praise. See also the Vedic Śraūṣṭi of the 'mares', animals could only hear to 'obey', seldom to be 'gracious'. The moral idea of 'heeding', in response to a well-meant sacrifice, is not even absent from the 'hearing' on the part of the Gods: they heed because the sacrifice is meritorious, they are 'in equity' obliged to hear, and 'obedient—hearing', with its deep-seated moral idea, is absolutely certified where Śraoṣa is obviously the attribute of man. I would therefore amend my translation 'Obedience' of S.B.E. XXI only so far as to write the 'Heeding-ear-of-God-and-man', or 'God's Heeding, and our Obedience'. In this sense Śraoṣa, Śraūṣṭi(-Śraoṣa), indeed inspired 'Public Worship', he engaged 'the ear of God' to the sacrifice, yet even here he was by no means the 'mere hearing' in any sense aside from 'heeding'. The moral idea cannot be critically excluded, circumscribing and confining the sense to the idea of a severe, indifferent, or adverse 'hearing' on the 'part of God'.

tú; kila (-e-) imān̄ yajñām̄ lēč'akāyāḥ* — Šruštēḥ(-r) (yajatānām̄ lēč'ayā šruštīmātām, puja-kānām̄ ča (-āpi'-) ihā rūpakam̄ uddi-
stāyāḥ, Šruštēḥ(-s) četasā pāuruša- (-pūruša-) -yajatā-b'āvanena
(-āi 'v-) evām̄ ab'initāyāḥ, — tāsya*; kila, tāsyaī (tāsmāi(-ā)),
imān̄ yajñām̄ saṅskārāyāmi(-ī-), lēč'akā- Šruštēḥ(-ér) ṛtāvar-
yāḥ) iti; — kila, *Šraušti-yajatāsya(-a r-) ṛtāvanah(-o) vā (-ā r-)], —
Rtīvataḥ) (iti śabda-kālpa-(-ā 'n-) -anukṛtyārt'a-mātram; kila,
ṛtū-p'āla-dāsya(-dāḥ* (-dó) vā) yajatāsya pūnya-raivatyā-b'ṛtaḥ
(-o)), vṛtrag'nāḥ, pradād'āt(-d) (-vāsā-b'ūmi-) -gāyasya (-é'ti'h-
-ihā (-gehāsya), — Šruštēḥ(-ér) ihā rūpakam̄ četasā yajatāvat
pūnar ab'initāyāḥ), — imān̄ yajñām̄ saṅskārāyāmi.

(7(23)) Rjūnasas*¹ ča (-é'ti śabda-kalpā'nukṛtyārt'am,
rjīśvanah(-o-) vā, rjūtā-(-tvā-)² -b'ṛtaḥ(-o-)), rájiṣṭ'asya(-ar-)
*rtatātas ča,*³ (-é'ti śabda-kālpanā'nukṛtyā pūnar āpi(-y), -(ati)-
saṁdigd'ām̄ tú, — kila imān̄ yajñām̄ d'ārma-satyātataḥ(-o's-)
asmād - vāsā - b'ūmi - gāyeb'yah̄ sarvā - suastī - pradād'atyāḥ),
vard'ād-, vard'ayāt(-d-) -gayāsyaḥ . . . (saṅskārāyāmi . . .).

(8(24)) (Imān̄ yajñām̄) nivedāyāmi saṅskārāyāmi Mās-
yeb'ah(-a)*⁴ ṛtāsya(-a r-) ṛtū-patib'yah(-o'n-), Antarmāse,*⁴
(-māsāya vā)*⁵ ṛ-. ṛ-. ṛ-.

¹ Cp. the proper name, this for Av. rašnaoš.

² Rjūta- (or -tvā-) is accented from analogy.

³ Rtātā- in imitation of Av. arštatas-, hardly (?) to rš, arš; cp. řšī-, still less probably to řj, arj, while I do not forget the terminations in -j which go over to-š before t-, ř-, nor even that ereš belongs to ereš-, to řj, arj. (This last might however seem a question of a permitted final) I think r, ar in rtā to be the root; cp. the old Persian forms Artakšātra, Fravartī, etc., where the 'r' always appears. The Av. letter formerly expressed as ř was really originally 'rš' in many of its occurrences. See Gathas, Dictionary, Vol. III, Preface, p. XVII¹ flg.; see also above. If the forms in arš- are to erež, ereš-, we have then the question whether aša itself be not referable to erež, which would, however, present the gravest difficulty, aša (= a(r)ša (?)) as = Indian ṛtā being too well established. It is a total mistake to trace all the Avesta forms in řš, arš, or to řj, arj.

⁴ Cp. -māsya = 'containing a month', Av. māhya.

⁵ For accent cp., for want of better, antarātmān, antaryāmin, but, āntārikša.

(8(25)) . . . Pūrṇāmāse*¹ (-é 'h-) áhar-(vi-)-s(š)aptát'āya*²
 (-é 'ti četasā rūpakam yajatávat(-d) ud-diṣṭāya sākṣātkārēṇa*
 (-e 'v-) iva (-a r-)), ṛtāsyā (-a r-t-) ṛtū-pataye.

(9(26)) (Imāṁ yajñām) nivedáyāmi saṁskārāyāmi Saṁvat-
 sarineb'yah(-o)*³, Mad'ya-harmyāya*⁴ (-é 'ti púnar āpi, śábda-kāl-
 panavati(-d), (ati)saṁdehēna (saṁdehapadam), durgānīcha(-é 'ti)
 tú, kila mād'ya-vasantā-kālāya, harita-śādvāla-kālā-yajatāya) . . .

(9(27)) . . . Mad'ya-grīsmā-sāmāya*⁵ . . .

(9(28)) . . . Pratiśasyāya*⁶ . . .

(9(29)) . . . Ayātrīmāya*⁷ Pravarttrīmāya*⁸ vṛṣṇī-bīja(m)

¹ So the cited accent for both 'the full-moon' and 'its sacrifice'.

² See the forms with prior vi-, also accented, as vičē'itti: perhaps viša-prat'āya would be better here.

The intercalary day inserted in each month after the 8th and the 23rd; see Roth Z.D.M.G. XXXIV, 710. I would emend my translation in S.B.E. in this sense; see the place.

³ For Av. Yairyaēibyo.

⁴ For Av. maiḍyōi-zaremavai; Harmiā- (harmiāya) only goes back upon har = g'ar in the sense of 'glowing-hearth-flame'; for the sense of hārīta, however, see harenu (acct.(?)) as a 'kind of herb'; also haridra (acct.(?)) = 'yellow sandal wood'. Possibly the 'red colouring' of blossoms and budding leaves had something to do with the idea of 'glowing red', and not alone the 'flush' of 'new green', though this 'flush of fresh green' was the more in evidence in burnt summer latitudes, where all red and green vanishes after spring.

⁵ So for Av. maiḍyōšemāi. The accent of mād'ya generally goes over to the end of the compositum. As the mid-year naturally suggests 'summer', I do not know that it is necessary to add grīsmā-kālāsyā(-o-) ušmā-g'armāsyā (g'armakālāsyā)

⁶ Cp. Sasyā, and for form prati-veša, prati-hvarā, in composita with prati the accent often seems to rest where the emphasis falls; but it is dangerous to suggest laws here.

⁷ For ayātrīma cp. vātrā, f. (acct.(?)). and yatrotsava, m = 'festzug, procession'.

⁸ For pravarttrīmāya cp. avartrā ('not turning') of Agni, and for the i of -trīma, notice that -tra- before -ma goes over to -tri-, there being an evident sympathy between an 'r' and the following 'i' in this connection. For the accented -trīma notice that while the suffix -tra- generally leaves the accent upon the root, final -mā also of itself often carrying the accent, yet, in two cases at least out of the five or six cited by Whitney, -trīma appears. We must understand the two expressions ayātrīma and pravarttrīma as being to some degree the one supplementary to the other, as 'return' and 'driving home'; cp. praveša, otherwise

-sṛṣṭāya (vr̥ṣnī-bīja-visṛṣṭi-kālāya*¹) . . .

(9(30)) . . . Mad'ya-saṁvatsarīṇāya*² (Mad'ya-varṣikāya vā) . . .

(9(31)) . . . Samā-vi-śvayād³-médase -médāya vā, (-é 'ti vidyār'tam durgām tú (-vè(?)(-) evām) . . .

(9(32)) . . . Śarādb'yaś ča . . .

(10(33)) (Imām yajñām evām) nivedāyāmi saṁskārāyāmi viśveb'yaḥ, (-ya) R̥tūpatib'yaḥ(-yo) yé sánti(-y) r̥tasya (-ar-) r̥tūpatayaḥ trāyaś ča triṁśat(-d) nédiṣṭāḥ pari-śāvāḥ*, pari-s(ś)āvanaya(ḥ) (iti śābdakālpavad evām), yé sánti(-y) R̥tasya yāt(-d) Vásiṣṭa-sya (-é 'ti; kila(-r-)-r̥tasya yāt(-d) vásiṣṭam), Mahād'ā-(Sume-d'ā(-āḥ(-s)- praśastāś ča, *Jarat'uštra-proktāḥ.

(11(34)) (Imām yajñām) nivedāyāmi saṁskārāyāmi(-y) Ásurāb'yām Mitrāb'yām (iti, kila (-ā-) Ásura(-a-, -ā-) -Mitrāb'yām),

we might more naturally suppose that ayātrima originally referred to the 'driving home' of the herds from the summer pastures, while 'pravatrīma' referred to 'the sending them out' in the spring; but the idea seems to be the 'forth-turning', 'driving in' toward home.

¹ For vr̥ṣnī-, cp. vr̥ṣṇi te śāvāḥ, RV. V. 35, 4, and vr̥ṣṇyam śāvāḥ, RV., VIII, 3, 8, etc.

² Mad'ya- does not so often retain its accent in the Vedic texts which have been handed down to us. Out of, say, some twenty-seven, odd, occurrences only a very few of those whose accents have been handed down to us retain the accent upon its original syllable.

³ I think that the -spaḥ- in Avesta hama-spaḥ-maēdayai is the stem of the present participle, as elsewhere used in both Avesta and Sanskrit; — cp. pradaḍāt — above, and Avesta fradaḍat-; see it in composition in yavayaṭ-sak'āḥ, yavayād-dveṣāḥ for the final member some form like mēdas(-ḥ) seems indicated. Śvayād (?) here? Insert eb'yāḥ omitted through oversight in 10 (33).

One is naturally inclined to change the reading here to -maēdayai in view of the preceding name, but we should have also to accept a change of place as well as of form. I am the more inclined to accept Roth's suggestion in Z.D.M.G., vol. XXXIV, viz. mēdas(ḥ)tat', 'flourishing growth'; and this all the more from the prominent fact that the 'a' in Avesta maēdayai has here the usual aspect of debris, — the word being properly — mēḍayai. Nor is Roth's seemingly too ingenious comparison with myāzd to be lightly set aside. Before closely examining Roth's article, I had decided upon śvayāt- as the form of the participle to be used, but his śvat (?) = śuvat (?) may be equally good, or better.

br̥hādb'yām átyajob'yām, ṛtāvab'yām, Stṛpām* ĉa, švānta-manyūnām (-nór) d'āmanām) íti, kila, Š. M. *visṛṣṭānām).

(11(35)) (Imām yajñām ĉa) Tišyāsya stāraḥ(-o)*¹, revātaḥ, svārvataḥ (kila *svāraṇavataḥ(-o)*²), Māsasya ĉa gó-čitrasya*³ (-é 'ti śābda-kālpā' nukṛty-árt'eṇa (-āi 'v-) evām kévalam, kila, gór bijasya*³), sūar ĉa, (sūraḥ) kṣāítasya(-ā-)*⁴ arvad-ašvāsya (-é 'ti), d'itēḥ* (kila ĉakṣór) Ásurasya Mahād'āḥ (Sumed'āsaḥ(-so-)vā), Mi-trāsya ĉa (-e 'm-) imām yajñām saṅskārāyāmi)* pūnya-dāsyūnām* pūnya-dāsyu-pateḥ(-er)*⁵; [íti, -durmanas-(-o-)-védá'rt'á'nurūpaṁ tú ná kát(-č) čaná, -kila (-a r-) ṛjú-b'āśayā (-ā 'v-) *avestā- 'nusa-raṇena; asmá-d'ārma-jānma-b'ūmi-deśānām deša-patēḥ...].

(11(36)) (Imām yajñām) Ásurasya Mahād'āḥ (Sumed'āsaḥ (-so-)vā), revātaḥ, svārvataḥ,

(11(37)) ... ṛtāvanām Pravartínām ĉa*⁶ (-é 'ti púnar ápi śābda-kālpa-hetór evām kévalam, -kila Pitra'tmánām -Pitā-(?) páretānām kula-yajatānām, kula-pānām(-pām), piṭṭamānām, íti).

(12(38)) (Imām yajñām) nivedāyāmi saṅskārāyāmi táva, Yajña-dehy-at'aryāḥ, kila (-ā 't'-)* Át'ur, *-Át'raḥ(-o-) vā*⁷, he pútra(-ā-) Ásurasya*Mahād'āḥ (Sumed'āso vā pútra), smád víšvā-b'yah (-yo 't'-) at'arib'yah), íti, kila, smád víšvab'ir at'arib'ih).

¹ Cp. náraḥ.

² Cp. Vedic 'svāraṇam' of the Ṛṣi, RV., I, 18, 1.

³ While the Avesta meaning of čitra as bíja, looks so peculiar, it should be especially noted in the future aryan- Dictionaries. An aryan Dictionary which omits Avesta forms will be, in future, imperfect.

⁴ I can see nothing for it, but to accept a meaning 'scintillate', 'shine', to the root kṣi- = 'to rule'; recall the similar idea so often expressed by raj- = 'to rule'; kṣāita, = 'rule' = 'prince', must be regarded as here expressing 'brilliance'.

⁵ We do not forget the strong hostile meaning of dāsyu in the Veda just lately noticed, (-border animosity). The meaning is 'favourable' in the Inscriptions.

⁶ Conjectural accent; cp. the forms in -in.

⁷ For a possible *át'raḥ cp. náraḥ(-s).

The accent in the -van nouns is almost always upon the root; so that at'arvan is not decisive as to át'ar or at'ár, see at'arf, -yú. Was the Fire of Ahura that upon the altars?; the other Fires being also sacred, in an inferior degree

(12(39)) (... Imāñ yajñām) ... Adb'yāś ča vāsvib'yah(-yo)-*
viśvāsāñ ča apām evāñ Mahād'ā-d'itānāñ (Sumed'ā(h) (-d'ó-)
dattānāñ vā, *viśvāsāñ ča Urvārañāñ Mahād'ā-d'itānām.

(13(40)) (Imāñ yajñām) Mantrāsya švāntāsya (-āi'v-) evām
āpi ča (-ar-) rtāvanah(-o) vrjyasāya (?^{*1} -é 'ti šābda-kālpā'nu-
kṛti-hetór, -(ati)saindig'datvena (-āi'v-) evāñ tū; kila* vrjāna-
vatah(-o) Mantrāsya, [(vrjāna- (-ā-)) -āsor vā, -īti pūnar āpi
s(š)amdehavattamāñ, -Mantrāsya], Dātāsya (-é 'ti, kila d'ār-
mañah(-o) videvasya yajatāsya (-e 'hā rūpakam iva (-o 'd-)
uddištāsya, *Dātāsya) Jarat'uštreh(-r)^{*2} dirg'āsya (-o 'p-) Upa-
yanasya ča d'yānasya (kila, dirg'ā-krāma-paranipara (-o 'p-)
upadeśāsya d'ārmad'yānasya) vāsor Mahād'ā-yājah (Sumed'ā(h)
(-d'ā-) -ištēh^{*3}).

(14(41)) ... (Tām yajñām) Girēš ča Ušā-d'ārañasya (-ar-)
rtā-svārvatah(-o ?) viśvešāñ girīñām rta-svārvatāñ puru-svār-
vatāñ *Mahād'ā-dattānām (Sumed'ā(h) (-d'ó-) -d'itānāñ vā);

(14(42)) Kāvīāsya ⁴ sūar (sūrah, svārañasya vā^{*5} svār-sūar,
vidyā'rtāñ kadā-čit syāt(-d)), mahād'ā-d'itāsya (sumed'ā(h) (-d'ó-)
dattāsya vā), āhvṛitāsya (-é 'ti šābda-kālpavat, kila (-ā-) āksitāsya
sūrah(-o) Mahād'ā-d'itāsya, (Sumed'ā(h) (-d'ó-) -dattāsya vā).

(14(43)) I. y. n. s. (Pūnyāyā(h)) Rtéh(-r (īti šābda-kalpā'-
nukṛty-ārtā-mātram ihā viśešata(h) evāñ, kila raivatvāsya

¹ vrjāna- = 'strength'; this latter to úrj, varj, supposed to be a different (?)
root from vrj, varj. For the Av. reading verežyañhahvaha read vrjāna +
āsu + a- (?) = 'Community', or 'power', Lord'. See note on p. 93.

² A rare suffix, but see the few, together with āttri.

³ 'ištē' properly here used as end of the compositum with changed accent;
cp. also su-yāj- and su-yajñā.

⁴ Also possibly applying to the proper name in the Veda, certainly in an
especial manner applied to the Rb'ū's, etc

⁵ So, unless we read svārañāñ to the first svar = 'to sound', which may
indeed be more immediately realistic here. Are the two words 'svār' possibly of
identical etymological origin?, the 'flare of the trumpet' suggesting the 'glare of
the glory'?; see Wh.

(-a rt-) ṛtá- (-ṛtú- (-artú-)-d'árma-p'ála-dásya(-a r-)*Rtéḥ(-r), vās-
vyāḥ (kīla, raivatyāsya vāsunaḥ)*¹, Ātíteḥ(-r) vāsvyā(ḥ) āpi,
*Rtéḥ(-r, īti púnar evám, vidyārt'e vikṛte tú, kīla (-a r-)
ṛtásya (-é'ti kadā cid ihá(-ā-) árt'añ syāt(-d), -Rtér*) vāsvyā(ḥ),
*Rā(d')-śantāteḥ(-r)*² vāsvyāḥ, Súar (kīla Súraḥ), Śávasaḥ(-so)
Mahād'á-dattasya (Sumed'ā(ḥ)(-d'ó(?) -(-d'ítasya vā).

(15(44)) (Imáñ yajñám) . . . dasmāyā(ḥ) vāsvyā(ḥ) (Ā)pri-
teḥ(-r) (Āśíśaḥ suastimatyāḥ suasti-vāhyā(ḥ) vācāḥ(-o)) das-
māsya náraḥ(-o) ṛtāvana(ḥ), ugrásyača takvasya (śāpa-vādi-
naḥ(-o)) *d'āméh(-r)*³, īti śābda-kalpana-vat tat'á kévalam evám;
kīla d'āmanaḥ (-no), nyāyāsya vā, nyāyāvādina(ḥ)*⁴, Upaman-
trīnaḥ(-o) yajatāsya (-é 'ty), [*Upamānasya śābda-kālpā'-
nukṛty-árt'añ tú, kīla yajñám śapát'a-durvača(ḥ)-upamantrīnaḥ

¹ One naturally supposes that ereḥ is rtá perhaps in a sense rather different from the sense attributed to a(r)ṣi; and one naturally selects the more abstract sense for ereḥ because a(r)ṣi becomes so closely identified with the idea of 'profit' and 'wealth'.

² That ra-, raṣ-, or rad'- rad' = 'to give', etc. lies at the root of this difficult word is mere conjecture, as is of course also my notice of śantati, to śam (Wh. of śam-yos'). We might naturally suspect the presence of an Avesta rad, or rad, 'd' going over to 's', but an abstract termination attaching itself to the stem of a present participle is what most naturally suggests itself here, and a form from 'ras' = 'to give' suits the context. In Ś.B.F. XXXI. I preferred a ras = rasītan.

Cp. for form iriḥyāstāt, the present participle plus -tāt, see Indian ariṣṭā-tāti, but not in the Rg Veda, where we have, however, at least the past participle plus -tāti. For a possible fem. form cp -uhī, etc., and anaḍvāhi (Wh.)

³ 'Wisdom' seems indeed well adapted here, and one might almost hesitate whether, or not, to accept a root da = 'to know', cp the Old Pers. form, which we, however, of course more naturally refer to Av. dān. D'ā might, however, include a 'mental disposition of things'. Otherwise we must render 'of the Creator'. The suffix -nī, m. f. is rare, and seldom, or never, occurs after -ā, except in jāmi = 'relation'; Av. dāmi, however, occurs also in the sense of 'Creator', as of 'Creation': Θέμις, has been compared. I follow my imitation d'āméh with d'āmanaḥ, and this must be understood in its sense 'statute, law, order'. The Pahl. trlr. seems to have read dahmahya,—would not this afford an improvement?

⁴ Accent after the preponderance of analogies, as so often; see also the intentional redundancy.

upamanyóṣṣ ḥa yajātāsya, víšvān durvṛttān* pāpa-karmāṇaḥ
prāti evāṁ (dur-)-manyumátah(-o) yajātāsya (i-. y-. n-. s-)].

(16(45)) (Imān yajñām) nivedáyāmi saṁskārāyāmi(-y) eśām
āśayānām*¹ (iti, kila (-ā-), āśayānām svalpa-grhā-kṣudrā-grāmāṇām
āśan-nīrmitānām, iti kadācid ārtān syāt(-d), -(ati)saṁdigdān
tū madmatyā dr̥ṣyāte), -kṣétrāṇām, gāvvyūtīnām, met'ī-nir-
mita-*¹ vāsā-b'ūmi-st'ānānām, āp-hvaritānām (iti śabda-
kālpā'nukṛty-ārtā-mātram evām, kila prapānām, ap-pāna-st'ā-
nānām), apān ḥa, kṣamām, urvarāṇām*² (vṛkṣā-śākānām,
óśad'inām śādānām*) asyāṣṇa kṣamāh (-ó 'v-) *avāsya(-ā-) āśana(h)
(iti, kila (-ā-) amúṣya(-ā 'v-) *avāsya, (-é 'ti) (kila (-ā-) *amúṣya (-ā-) āś-
manaḥ(-o)), vātasya (-ar-) ṛtāvana(h) (-iti), st'īnām, māsāh, sūrah
(-ó, 'n-) ānagrāṇām rōcasān* svad'itānām, (kila svad'inānām)
vīśveśām Śvāntāsya pūṇya-Manyóḥ(-r, iti, kila śvāntāsya (-ā 't-)
Ātmānāh(-o)) d'itānām (sārgānām vā) ṛtāvanān* (sṛṣṭīnām* ḥa
(-a r-) ṛtāvānānām nīrmālāṇām), ṛtāsya(-a r-) ṛtvīyānām.

(17(46)) ... Nivedáyāmi saṁskārāyāmi(-y) ṛtūn brhata(h) (evām)
yé(-a) ṛtāsya(-ā r-) ṛtāvah sānti(-ty āsan); kila (-e 'm-) imān yajñām
ṛtunām (ṛtvīyānām) *ahanyānām, māsyanām, saṁhvarsarīṇānām,
śarādān ḥa (saṁskārāyāmi(-y-)), (eśām) yé sānti (āsan vā)
ṛtāsya(-a r-) ṛtāvah. (Yajñām*) Sāvāneḥ(-r)*³ ṛtōḥ(-r, [iti śabda-

¹ Whether a structure more prominently composed of 'stone' was here held in view?—and so to āśan = 'stone', might be considered, while the maēḥana; see below, might get its name from the predominance of the wooden pillar met'ī, med'ā, med'ā. The 'stony' element (? in Av. asaṁh-) might have reference to a stone wall for defence, while the maēḥa had rather wooden posts, or palisades;—some encircling enclosure was frequent. Cp. here also mēṭr(-tar) = 'builder of m.' We have the alternative choice of referring the word to maēḥ-, mēḥ- = 'to meet'; cp the stem mēḥn- in mēḥnat, etc., but maeḥ- (mēḥ-) itself requires explanation. Was the idea of -mēt'ana (Wh.) present? Or a 'pairing' of people might have suggested the meeting together of the family, or minor tribe. (- hardly).

² May not the Indian urvārā have here exactly the sense of Avesta urvara rather than that of 'fruits and vegetables'. Insert ahar-ya-jātānam in 17 (46).

³ Accent on the privative nir- according to preponderating analogy.

kālpā'nukaraṇena-mātraṁ; kila (-e-) imāṁ yajñāṁ amūṣāṁ pūrva-prātāḥ-sōma-sāva(-i-)-*horānām (īti), tēna (-āi 'v-) evāṁ Sāvāni-¹ nāmninām, -tāsāṁ, kila yajñāṁ pūrva-dīvasa-namāḥ-kālāsyā(-a r-) rtōḥ, pūnya-karma(-o-)-upayogīnaḥ ²(-o-) nivedāyāmi . . .].

(18(47)) (Imāṁ yajñāṁ) nivedāyāmi saṁskārāyāmi(-y) rtāva-nām *Pravartinām (īti pūnar āpi; kila pitra'tmānāṁ ³pāretā-nām) ugrāṇām *ab'itūrāṇām ⁴(-ab'itūrvatām, -ab'ituratām) *pūrva-čittānām [(pūrvacētasām, -čittinām, īti, śabda-kalpan-ā'rtāṁ; kila pūrva-pūnya-vidyā-(-ā 'ś-) -āśritānām mantrā-b'aktināṁ*, pūrva-kāla-d'arma-d'āman(n)-ab'irākṣatām āpi, Pravartinām - Pitāmahānām, kula-yajatānām)], -nāb'i-nehdiṣṭānāṁ ēa pitāmahānām, -svāsya (cētaḥ-(-o-)-ruvaṇa-⁵śrūt(-d-)-ātmā-naḥ; [kila svātmānaḥ pravartine* svapitāmahāya, kila yajñāṁ . . ātmānaḥ pūjakasya pujakārīṇaḥ svayāṁ tatksaṇena(-ṇe)-tad-yajñā-sevane* svaśariratvéna samupast'ītasya, tasya (-ā-) ātmānaḥ(-o-), jānasya yāsya hetōḥ pr'ak -g īti kadācid) evāṁ tadyajñā-sevanāṁ vāstutaḥ saṁpādyāte, -tāsya, -tādātmanāḥ *Pravartina(ḥ) hetōḥ (-tōr) imāṁ yajñāṁ saṁskārāyāmi(-y), ity ādi . . .].

(19(48)) I. y. n. s. vīśveb'yaḥ(-a) rtāsya(-a r-) rtūpatib'yaḥ.

(19(49)) Vīśveb'yaḥ(-o) vāsu-d'āb'yaḥ(-yo) yajatéb'ya(ḥ) evāṁ manyúb'yaḥ, [kila, pūnya-manyumādb'ya(ḥ), īti; kila

¹ -Ni is a suffix occurring not so often, and with accent mostly upon the root. The suffix -ani, f and as adj. m. f. nt. would give us *havanī(?). Might not the Av. 'i', as so often, be a quasi-pahlavi relic of a 'x' with its inherent 'a', havanyā; see ahanyā, d'vanyā*, udanyā. Or again should we explain as a suffix -an + a suffix -i² which would give us an havāni.

² -in- accented from analogy; see the great preponderance.

³ Should we write pitra-ātm- or pitā'tm-, see pitāmahānām

⁴ Ab'i in composition is seldom accented in the RV.; but see ab'itaḥ, ab'idya-, ab'imāti-, and a few others which only occur among the many accentless ab'i-. *Mantra-b'aktimatam.

⁵ So, only to recall the etymology of Av. ruvan*, indeed the form looks as if it had its origin in the participial suffix, see also ruvanyū and ruvaṇa, adj. (?), brullend, etc.; see also Śravāna

yajatéb'yaḥ svargā'r'ta-(ā-)-ab'irākṣadb'yaḥ(-yo)] nivāsa-b'ūmi-gāyeb'yaḥ ḥa [(e'h-)-ihalokasya nivāsa-gehéb'yaḥ(-o) vā (-é'ti kadācid)] yé sánti (-y, āsan vā) yajniyā(h), *vāsnyā(h) (iti śābda-kalpā'nukaraṇena, tát'ā kévalam; kīla, stūti-vākmyā(h)) ṛtāt(-té sácā yāt(-d) vāsiṣṭāt(-d), (iti kīla, ... yāt(-d) vāsiṣṭ'am).

(20.50) (He) *Šāvane¹ (-a iti; kīla, he yājata prātaḥ-sōma-sāvana, praťame dívasa-vib'akte, kīla, he yājata etām ab'irakṣin), ṛtāvan, ṛtāsya(-ā r-) ṛtu-pate;-

(20.51) he *Šāvase² (-a iti, he Šāvasin, *Šāvasi(?) vā, dívasasya dvītiye pūṇya-kālā-vib'akte, kīla, he yājata, tát-ab'irakṣi-yājata(-te(-a)), ṛtāvan(-vari vā(-ā'r-)) ṛtāsya(-a r-) ṛtu-pate, (ṛtāvari vā ṛtāsya patni);-

(20.52) he Áraṇi-pituman(-ns-), (tṛtiya yājata dívasasya, tṛtiya-pūṇya-kālā-vib'akty-ab'irakṣin(-n)(-še)), ṛtāvan, ṛtāsya (-a r-) ṛtu-pate;-

(20.53) he 'Úd-ahariṇa ('Úd-ahanya vā, túriya pūṇya-dívasa-vibakti-yājata(-tā'r-)), ṛtāvan, ṛtāsya (-ar-) ṛtu-pate;-

(20.54) he 'Áb'i-trātrima, ('Áb'i-śrutrima (vā)), *Áb'igaya, (kīla, he tvám āsma -vāsa-b'ūmi-gayā'b'irakṣin, géha-pālana*-yājata, pāñčama-pūṇya-dívasa-vib'akty-ab'irakṣin(-n)(-še)), ṛtāvan(-n), ṛtāsya(-a r-) ṛtu-pate;-

(20.55) he 'Úsasina (praťama(-o)-uśā-kāla, śaśṭ'a(-ā)-āhar-pūṇya-dívasa-vib'akti-yājata),

(21.56, 57, 58) yádi tvā (tvám; iti; kīla yádi yuṣmán³ viś-vāḥ), he Hórāḥ* ṛtu-pāḥ), didvēša, yádi mánasā, yádi váčasā,

¹ For Havane; see above. The word *Šāvāni is formed from analogy upon sāva and -sāvin (acc. ?). See the forms in -ni, some with strengthened root, with various accent.

² See above; also cp. for formation Šāvas and Šavasf, which latter is accordant with a -sa. Šāvase should be vocative of a Šāvasi; — according to the accompanying terms it should be masculine; see also Šāvasāye at 3 (8) and at 23 (67), see (for form) sauyavasi to su yāvas, the suffix 'i' seldom has the accent

³ The singular 'ašavan' in the Av. original at 60 stands for the pl. in idea.

yádi çyautnéna¹, yádi jóṣeṇa (-é 'ti, kila, ab'iprāya-pūrvām), yádi(-y) ájoṣeṇa^{*1}, (kila(-ā-) ájñātvā(-ā 'n-), áničč'ayā(-ā 'n-), ániṣṣitaṁ ča),

(21(59)) á te asyá, kila(-ā- asmín ((-n) íti), yuśmákam yajñē (-è 'm-), amūni sárvaṇi káryāṇi pratíkṣya) prá (kila, úttaró'ttaraṁ) tvám, (kila yuśmán) -stuve, -stāúmi; ní te (kila, yuśmákam, kṣati-śaṁpūrṇeṇa (-é 'ti, kila paritóṣaṇeṇa(-āi-) evám, táva yajñám b'úyah(-o)) vedáyāmi, yádi te (kila tvám, -yuśmán vā) asyá, (kila tásmin (-n), -etat-pratíkṣya), áva-ruród'a (tásmin) yát, (kila, tat-pratíkṣya yát (táva)), yajñásya ča, stúti-vákmyasya (paramá'rtaḥ(-ó sat); [kila, yádi tvám, Ásura, kadā-čana, kiṁčit, tva-yajñá-stúti-vákmya-pratikṣaṇeṇa áva-ruród'a, tátah(-s) tvám, tad-hetór, úttaró'ttaraṁ tāvati(-d) b'úyah 'prastuve, (-*prastāúmi, -stoṣyāmi, vā)].

(22(60)) He řtavah (řtu-patayah(-o)), víšve máhiṣṭā(h) řtāvānah(-a), řtásya(-ar-) řtu-patayah,

(22(61)) yádi vah(-o) didvéša,

(22(62)) yádi mánasā, yádi váčasā, yádi çyautnéna,

(22(63)) yádi jóṣeṇa, yádi(-y) twice ájoṣeṇa; (kila, yádi(-y) ab'iprāya-pūrvām, yádi vā ájñātvā*, ániṣṭvā),^{*2}

(22(64)) á vah(-ó 'sy-) asyá (tásmin) pra ča, (kila(-ó-) úttaró'ttaraṁ tat-pratíkṣya paritóṣakam) prastāve (-prastāúmi-), ní va(h) (úttaró'ttaraṁ) vedáyāmi, yádi vah(-o 'syá) asyá, (kila, yádi(-y) asmín, tat-pratíkṣya), áva-ruród'a yát tva-yajñásya

¹ These expressions 'in thought, in word, and in deed' make it impossible that the offences referred to were mere 'remissness in the ritual', although the 'means of justification' are here principally mere 'praise or prayer', that is to say, 'justification by faith' in another form. See also RV., V, 85, 7, 8, and VII, 86, the whole of it. The Rk expands more practically the items of offence; but see the ever recurring and truly wonderful Zoroastrian depth 'in thought, in word, in deed'; where did it come from?²—through what centuries of religious feeling and resolution?

² Where should we place the accent? with these a-privative gerunds? (ájñātvā(?)) Recall that the negative gerundives have the accent on the final -yá.

stútivákmyasya ça (ávašya-paramā'rtāḥ (-ó 'sat) ásat(-d)), [(íti; kila, yádi tvān tvad-yajña-stuti- *vákmyān pratíkṣya yat'ā-ka'ta'nčid āva-ruród'a).-tátas(-ḥ), tat- pratikṣaṇena, tvām útta-ró'ttarān viśeṣataḥ(-o) b'ūyaḥ prastāumi (-í 'ty ādi) ...].

(23(65)) Pravārāi, (kila, sò 'hām svayām prakāśān) Mahād'ā-yajñāḥ^{*1} ((-ñām(?)) k'yāpāyāi^{*2}) (-sumed'ā(ḥ)(-á(?))-īṣṭiḥ(-r-vā) (-asmā-d'arma-vidyām prakāśān k'yāpāviśyāmi), Jarat'uṣ-ṭriḥ(-r)^{*3}, (-ahānī), vídeva(ḥ)^{*4} (evām), ásurā-četāḥ(-tās) ... -kila(-á-) ásurasya d'arma-d'āma-(-n-) -hr̥daya-b'aktimān (-ñ) 'āsmi).

(23(66)) Sāvānaye (-a íti, śabda-kalpā'rtān nītyān púnar āpi; kila sóma-sāvi(n)-prātaḥ(-r)-horā *-kālāya), ṛtāvane(-a) ṛtāsya (-a r-) ṛtúpataye, -yajñāya ça stúti-vákmyāya (tad manasyitvá), kṣņotrāya^{*1} (-é 'ti pūnaḥ śābdataḥ tát'ā kévalim evām); [kila imān yajatān mat-prārtanena(-āi 't-) etāvat(-d) ati-nirband'ena, pro'tsāhāi mad-d'armā'kāñkṣā-śāntaye(-a), evām tādart'am -tāñśča yajatān (-ñst-) téna māmopári^{*} sañtoṣayāi, téb'yaḥ (-s) sañtuṣṭim kṛṇāvāi, kariṣyāmi, -tad-vidyā'rtam evām viśeṣataḥ(-s) pravārāi (-āi 'ty-, íty ādi-] .. prāśastaye ça, —

(23(67)) Šavasāye Viśyāya ça, ṛtāvane(-a) ṛtāsya(-a r-) ṛtāve, (kila (-a r-) ṛtú-pataye), yajñāya ça, stuti-vákmyāya^{*} ça, sañtoṣa-kṣņotrāya^{*}, prāśastaye ça(-ar-), ṛtú-pataye, -yajñāya ça ..., prāśas-taye(-a),

¹ Compare RV., III, 51, 7. tāva prānti tāva śura śārmann ā vivāsanti kavāyaḥ suyajñāḥ; see also āyañña

² I think that the idea expressed by this middle voice is not so exclusively 'I confess myself as a Mazda-worshipper', as 'I confess for myself the Holy Faith'; see the nominatives. The nom. might, of course, follow the middle voice, as in other languages

³ For the term -tri, see átri, at'ātri — svayām hetoḥ in 23 (60)

⁴ With regard to the accented vi- I will not say that it occurs more often with the effect of rendering a definition one of 'opposition' nor 'deprivation' rather than one of 'discrimination', but notice vidveśaḥ, virupa, vivāḥ, vivrata, and viśoka (which should be accented on vi-). Sp. 68 is misplaced in the 'Av. Text.

(23(68)) ṛtú-patīnām ṛtvīyānām Ahar-yajātānām; (kīla, (-ā-) āhar-ahaḥ(-r) ékaikānām āhanām samāgryāṇām ékaikam iva (-āi't-) etāvat(-d) ṛtvīyam pṛt'ak(-g) uddiṣṭānām, -Āhanyānām ča; (-kīla (-e 'h-) ihā(-ā-) āhar-horā-* kālā-vib'aktinām evām, pṛt'ak kiñ tū sevanā'rt'am seva-vidyā- 'nusāreṇo 'panitānām), Māsyanām ča, Saṁvatsarīṇānām ča, *Šarādām yajñāya ča, stūti-vākmyāya* ča, saṁtoṣāya (kṣṇotrāya, vā (-é 'ty evām rupakam upapannānām vyutpāditānām) prāśastaye ča . . . [tat sāmagrañ, tad āb'innam, pratīkṣya(-ā-), asmā-d'ārma-d'yānam videvañ nītyam āhar-ahaḥ pravārāi, prakāśam ča k'yāpāyāi (-k'yāpayi-śyāmi)** . . .].

**Readers are again reminded that the accentuations are here left everywhere somewhat redundant, for the reason given, being also largely re-applied through inference from analogies. The subdivisions of *composita* may be also more minute than is customary elsewhere. In selecting equivalents no especial distinction has been made between the Sanskrit terms of the different periods, though the Vedic has been generally preferred. The sequence of the wording has been necessarily somewhat warped by the necessity of following the word-sequence of the Avesta. My somewhat excessive and irregular application of sandhi seemed also enforced by my unusually numerous subdivisions through commas for the purpose of making the pointing of the ideas more easily recognised.

Oversights, chiefly owing to the new procedure, and the distance of the printing, are unavoidable. Some minor omissions have been consciously left unnoticed owing to the pressure of time;—through some accidental causes even slight emendations occasionally entail considerable delay.

The substance of some of the remarks and notes which appear above in the reconstructed Edition of the Avesta text, is here sometimes repeated, as this Edition of the Sanskrit Equivalents may be also, in some works, issued separately.

YASNA XXVIII AS AVESTA AND AS VEDA.

By

PROFESSOR MILLS.

1. (a) ahyâ yâsâ nemanhâ¹ ustâna-zastô raf(e)dhrahyâ.
 (b) mainyêush (= -yosh)² mazlâ p(a)ourvîm (= viyem)³ speñtahyâ
 ashâ⁴ vîspēng (= -pânsh (-?)) syaothnâ.
 (c) vañhêush (= -osh) khratûm⁵ mananhô yâ khshnevîshâ gēush-cha
 (=goshcha) urvānem (ruvānem).

1. 'In prayer-praise.' The simplest transliteration has been here adopted. 2. The-êush of mainyêush is beyond question a mere a+u intended to express the a+u of -u: so that mainyêush = -yosh. So also of the-êush of canhêush, it equals -osh. 3. The 'o' of p(a)ouro- is caused by epenthetic anticipation of an 'a' and the 'i' is mere false transliteration of the ancient Av. —Pahl. for 'y' with its inherent vowel. The 'a' of p(a)ou is debris left from a redundant expression of a + u = (u) u:—the 'o' itself would have sufficed to express 'a' with the 'u' in epenthesis, but it is better to leave these bits of debris so that they can be distinctly recognised as being what they are. p(a)ourvîm must be ajectively or nominally, and not adverbially (used, as it stands between related genitives: yîvîm is understood from yândîsh in 9; from this the yânm = yânyam) of the introductory paragraph. Vîspēng is merely a graphic dialectically distorted form of vîspânsh or possibly (!) vîspî. 4. Ashâ is, as I hold, more correct;—but it is unsightly; I here use Ashâ as the word. Ashâ is naturally instrumental here, and not voc; syaothnâ, refers to the entire action of the Holy Community in the cause:—and not so pointedly to the author of the piece, as I formerly explained. Ashâ is automatically instrumentally adverbial when connected with forms meaning 'thought' 'word' or 'deed.' A voc. is extremely out of place. Ashâ vîspēng syaothnâ, might be a kind of compositum. 5. Khratûm = 'understanding' rather than 'will'.

Transl. With venerating¹ desire for this (gift of) gracious help, O Mazda, and stretching forth (my) hands (to Thee), I—pray for the first (blessing of (Thy) Bountiful² spirit; (—that is), I beseech (of Thee) that all³ actions (of worth, or ritual, of State or individual (toward us, or by us) may be done) in accordance with Asha (Archangel of Thy Holy Law); and for this I implore (of Thee) the Understanding of Vohumanah, Thy Good Mind in our Toilers, in order that I may propitiate Gēush Ruvan, the Herd's Soul (which cries so bitterly to Thee).⁴

1. "Bowing in praise", Vel. namîsî, gives an added idea to the mere words "in prayer for." 2. Others, "Holy Spirit", to which I do not object. 3. Or "actions towards all" Possibly a neuter—vis'vîni; generalising the idea. 4. See Y. XXIX. It represented the entire polity and cause. He practically asks for the actions of Asha and the wisdom of Vohumanah.

AS VEDA¹.

1. (a) Asya yâsî² namîsî (-o-) uttânahastah (-o-) rabhasah (-sa³ âti-dasya
 (b) Manyoh'-or), (haye⁴) (su-)-medhah (-o') (mahâdhîh), pîrvyam
 s'vântasya (-ar-) rtena vis'vân, (prati, vis'vâni-vâ?) chyauntânî
 (c) Vasoḥ kratum manasah (-o) yena kshnavîshâ (âni)⁵ goḥ(-s'-)cha
 (-â-) âtmānam⁶.

1. The accentuation is here omitted but elsewhere purposely left redundant and otherwise irregular;—see especially the vocatives and the verbs; but other transcription was intended to suggest an analogous accent upon each Avesta word. This piece Y. XXVIII appeared in another form in the Festgruss to the late Professor R. von Roth, pages 193, 4, 1893. Max Muller's more popular transliteration is here adopted. 2. I preferred yâichhîni (sic) in the Festgruss; see page 193, but yîsî as 1st sg. sa-aor. conj. of yâ will do;—and looks in like the Av. yîsî. 3. Other writers might prefer some other form from the same root; cf. Velic rabhîh (-s-) in a 'good' sense; recall approximately rabhîh- (Wh) and rabhî. 4. 'Haye' is merely inserted to mark the vocative. 5. Recall dîvîshîp (?) for form only, to du (=liv-). 6. I have elsewhere allied rîvîs'-rat- to recall ra, rîvîs- as the root, related to rîvîm, -a 'humming' in the ears' giving the idea of 'the soul'. The 'understanding' khratûm expresses the essential element of the Good Mind, 'the skill of the good-minded citizen,' the agriculturist, through which he might satisfy the 'Soul of the Herds' which cries aloud in XIX. for 'good tillage' and good toiler. So that, with proper restorations, the identities with Velic become manifest. We have chiefly only dialectic 'z' for vedic 'h', 'h' for Vedic 's', 'p' for the related 'v';—see h in the two genitives;—recall Spanish Ximenes pronounced 'Himeneth', Juan pronounced Huan, etc.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| (a) $yē^1$ $vā$ mazdā ahurā | pairi-jasāi vohū manañhā ¹ |
| (b) maibyō dāvōi ³ ahvā | astvatas-chā hyat-chā manañhō ⁴ |
| (c) āyaptā ashāt hachā | yāish rapeñtō daidit ⁵ hvāthrē. ⁶ |

¹ This expression 'I who' is very characteristic in this chapter. It occurs sporadically elsewhere, which is also important.

2 *Vohu m.* is of course instrumental, expressing the spirit of his approach to Ahura. A voc. is singularly out of place; -see also the form. He approaches "with a good state of mind", and not "in company with an Archangel", and so throughout; though he may be 'inspired' by the Archangel of "Good Will". These are the crucial questions: How far shall we personify? and in personifying should we ever omit to express the interior idea? Here let me once for all object to 'discontinuity,' *sic*, i. e. to all non-consecutiveness as unscientific; *Asha*, *Vohu Manah*, cannot be absolutely meaningless, even as proper names, in one line and mean 'Right', 'Benevolence', etc., in the next. In the later Avesta the interior sense is often lost. To write *Asha*, *Vohu Manah* would be an unwarrantable affectation and wholly uncritical. The Authors never intended to use foreign expressions. This has never been thoroughly thought out. *Asha*, *V. M.* etc. are foreign expressions to us. We should write 'the Good Mind,' 'sovereign Power,' etc.

3 Infin. for imperv.

4 Notice the religiously-philosophical depth, seldom or never so expressed before at such a date.

5 Is not *daidi*? really *daidyát*? -i as Av.—Pahl = * *y*(?) with incorrect short vowel, so carelessly for long *ā* (?).

6 *Hvāthrē to hvān.-*

Transl. And therefore, O Ahura Mazda, Life-Spirit-Lord, the wise one (Great-Creator),¹ (inspired) by Vohumanah (Archangel of Thy Good Mind), I approach You, and beseech of You to grant me those attainments-of-reward (which appertain) to both the worlds, to that of the body, and to that of the mind,-and which are to be derived from Asha (Archangel of Just Law inspiring righteous deeds), by means-of-which he (that personified Justice) may introduce (those) who are their-recipients into welfare-and-beatitude.

1 To 'the Wise one', so with others,—I object only to its more abstract tone as being less probable.

AS VEDA.

2. (a) (Aham) yaḥ (-o), vaḥ(-o) (haye) su-medhaḥ (-o) (mahādhāḥ (-ā))
asura, pari-gachchhai vasunā manasā :
(b) Mahyaṃ dāvaṇe [sta, kila datta(-ā-)] asvoḥ (-r), asthanvataḥ (-ś-
cha (śarīravataḥ (ś-) cha yat (-ch)-cha manasaḥ
(c) (Phalāni (-y) āptāni (-y) ṛtāt (ṛte) śachā (ṛtena saha), yāiḥ (-?
rabhataḥ (-to asma-vratāni (-y-) upagrahān) dadhyāt svar (svar,
svarvati svargasukhe sânanandân).

3. (a) yē vā ashā ufyān¹ manas-cha vohū ap(a)ourvim (-viyem)²
 (b) mazdām-cha³ ahurēm y(a)siyō kshathrem-cha⁴ aghzhaonvamnem⁵
 (c) var(e)dañi ar(a)matish ; â mōi(mē) raf(e)dhrai zavēng (= -vānsh)
 jasatâ.⁶

1 Exactly the Vedic expression 'weave' a surpassing chant to you. Cf.uvuh (-r) arkam Indrāya.

2 Indra was *apīrya*— as=most excellent'; here the term is applied to the chant, or else adverbially.

3. I fear that the 'Wise One' sounds rather too abstract, yet my objection is not strong; I prefer *Maniuh* in 'the Great Creator', though '*mazdām*', fem. occurs as= 'wisdom' elsewhere.

4 Notice the extreme difficulty in rendering the abstract noun *kshathrem* here as the personified Archangel;—none seem to attempt it;—yet if it is absolutely sure that *kshathra* is being here used in its interior meaning as the 'kingdom', how is it possible that the composer uses Gāthic *Asha*, *vohu manah*, etc., in any other than this same interior sense even when used as proper names. *Ar(a)matish* can also not here mean 'the earth',—so seldom, if ever, in the Gātha. 'Zeal' in the 'Saintly agriculture' is the sense. The 'active energy of mind'; *ara-* to 'ar' (=to plough) as in *aratrum*.

5 See *kshopi*, for *akshonyamānam* (?); recall (non-) 'fluens republica'.

6 Some might prefer *jasatâ* (sic) as the 3d. sg. imperf. med. conj. used:—'let Aramaiti come'.

Transl. O Asha¹ (Archangel of the Holy Law), and Thou, Vohumanah, (of the Good Mind), I will weave (my hymn) to You, (b, c) (and) to Ahura Mazda in a manner unsurpassed, for all of whom Aramaiti (Archangel of the Holy Zeal) is causing the imperishable Kingdom to advance;—(and while I thus utter my supplications to you), come ye (here) to my calls to aid:—

I. Wherever "*Asha*" is here used by me without adding "Archangel of the Law of Truth and Ritual", or the like, let it be understood that I regard the reader as already fully apprised that the word is never written by me without its interior sense being borne in mind, and this even when it expresses a proper name. In fact I apologise for the use of *Asha*, as a foreign word. The Author would not have used the English (foreign) words 'Law of Truth' etc., not even the Sanskrit *ṛta*, *vasu manah*.—As well might I use *Asha* in my Sanskrit translation, expecting to be understood by a person not previously apprised. (I make an exception here.)

AS VEDA.

- 3: (a) (Aham yah(-o) vah (vo), (haye) ṛta, (arkam (r̥cham)) vayāni,¹
 manah (-ś)-cha vasu (-o)pūr-) apūrvyam,²
 (b) (Su-) medhasam³ (-ase) (mahādhām—(-dhe -' sur-)) asuram (-āya)
 yebhyaḥ kshatram (-ñ-)-cha⁴ (-â) *akshonyamānam,⁵ ((?) iti,
 kila (-â-) akshiyamānam)
 (c) Vārdhati (-y) aramatih (-r);—â me rabhase (-a) (ûti-dāya, upakârāya,
 tasya hetoh (-r mana) havān (â) gachchhata.

4. (a) *je urvânem (ruvânem) mên¹ gairē (gairim) vohē dadē hathrā
mananhā*
(b) *ashish-châ sy(a)othnanām vidush² mazdā ahurahyā*
(c) *yavaṭ isâi tavâ³-châ avat khsâi (-a-)ēshē⁴ ashahyā.*

1 It is now more the fashion to connect *mēñ=mēng* as equalling *man-, manah* with *dadhē*; 'I turn the attention of my soul to 'awaking' (or 'to praising'). Hardly *mēñ=mēnd* gen or as=*mām* acc. More might be said for *mēng* as ideogram for *mân-*, or *mdua-* as in a *mânō-gairē*= 'Abode of Song', 'Heaven'. Or the variant *gairim* might be preferable *mēng-gairim*, the '(Heavenly) Mount Abode', though the concept 'Mount Alborj' seems to be later. See *mânē-garō* at 45, 8, 50, 4; but *garō (d) mânē* at 51, 15.

2 Notice the close personal piety of the ideas

3 Notice the more ancient Vedic 1st singulars in *-ā* here, so, often, as against *-āni*, or *-āni*.

4 Some prefer *ā iṣe*= 'to wish for *asha*', but such an infu., hardly goes so well with a genitive like *bhuje*; -see, however, the throng of Vedic dative infinitives in '*e*'; yet see again *(a)ṣham* in this 25, 7, 9 and in 50 *(a)ṣhē* is better as the loc. (adverbially) 'in prayer for *Asha*'. He does not pray to 'learn' how to 'wish for *Asha*', but already having that wish and knowing the rewards he expresses his determination 'to teach' or 'to learn (further in order 'to teach' in the wish for *Asha*).

Transl. (Yea, I will approach You with my supplications), I who am directing my soul's attention to an awakening¹ (?), knowing full-well (as I do), the rewards of the (ceremonial and moral) actions (prescribed, by² Ahura Mazda (and also the rewards bestowed by Him.) So long as I am able and may have the power (of place and time, of means and opportunity) so long will I (thus knowing) teach (or 'learn to teach') Your people concerning those holy rewards to be gained by them) in the desire for *Asha* (the coming of the Archangel of Thy Law, to inspire them to those deeds, and so induce those blessings).

1 Or, 'I who am delivering my soul to the (Heavenly) Home Mount,' so reading *gairim*, "(whither all the redeemed must pass)," S.B.E. i.e. "I who deliver my soul to *Garodmān* (Heaven) (?)" ; so the Pahl. trl. ; see above.

2 Not of course knowing the rewards "through Ahura" or "by means of Mazda." Ahura could seldom stand in an instrumental in such a sense.

AS VEDA.

4. (a) (Aham) *yah(-ya) âtmânām manah (-no) (?) gire¹ (māna-girim vā)
vasunā dadhe satrā manasā*
(b) *Rtīh(-r)² [(?) iti, kila, phalāni puṇyāni] chyautnânām (aham) vidvân
(-nt(?)) su-medhasah (-so's-) asurasya*
(c) *Yâvat(-d) isâi tavâ (-ni)³ cha tâvat (-chchh-) śikshai (â(?)) eshe(-a) ṛtasya.*

1 To *gr*= 'to awake'; consider also *gr*= 'to sing', 'to utter praise'; also *giré*, and *giraye*; cp. *giri-kshit*.—

2 *Rtīh*=*ashish*, but in Sanskrit it has not that meaning; possibly 'adverse attack' may suggest vengeance, *ashī* also meaning the 'recompense of evil.'

Cp. for form only, *brahmi*; recall *tavti*, etc.

6. (a) *voḥâ gaidi¹ manañhâ dâidi² ashâ-dâ dar(e)gâyû³ (-ô ?)*
 (b) *ereshvâish tô ukhdhâish mazdâ zarathushtrâi (a)ojanhvat raf(e)nô*
 (c) *ahmaibyâ-châ ahurâ yâ d(ai)bishvatô dv(a)ṣhâ⁴ taurvayâmâ.*

1 Notice that *Mazda* could be besought to 'come': see elsewhere, and at Y. 23,3. *Voḥâ m.* is obviously adverbial instr. and not for the nom.

2 More original than *dehi*.

3 Or *dar(egayô* voc. sg. m. 'O thou eternal' (lit 'long-lived'). The Vedic expression 'long lived' refers to Indra in the sense of 'Eternal'. Notice the metre at line. (b). Was not—'*râi remy-trâya* (?)'; recall again the *iota* subscript.

4 The foes were military in the war-feuds, but being especially animated by the Evil One, their hostility had an infernal element. The hymn was not purely 'academic'.

Transl. Come thou, O Ahura Mazda (the Life-Spirit-Lord, the Wise One, Great-Creator), come¹ (to me) in grace, (that is, with Vohu Manah as thy Good Mind),² and do Thou, who bestowest ashv-gifts, (the righteous gifts, the Archangel's gifts) bestow alike long lasting life³ on me; (b) and by means of Thy lofty⁴ words impart Thy powerful joy inspiring help to Zarathushtra,⁵ (c) and to us, O Ahura, whereby we may repel the diabolical-hostilities of the foe.

1 Referring to the prayer for him in the previous strophe.

2 Personification is not here so fully pronounced;—it is guarded in this sense by the previous strophe, by the entire piece. 'V. M.' is nowhere Archangel with a meaningless name. Hardly here 'in company with His Archangel'.

3 Or 'O thou Eternal'.

4 Or, "With Thine 'holy words', 'true words'."

5 This strophe seems to be put into the mouth of Vish'âspa; not that V. was the author here; see the next strophe where Z. takes up again the first personal. This reference to Z. in the third personal hardly precludes his authorship here. Z. was undoubtedly the chief composer.

AS VEDA.

6. (a) *vasunâ (â)gadhi manasâ, dehi (haye(?)) rta-dhâh (-â) dirghâyo*
(dirghâyutvam-vâ)¹
 (b) *Rshvaiḥ(s) tvam ukthaiḥ(-s), su-melhaiḥ(-o), Jarathushtrâya (-au-)*
ojisvat(-d)² rabhaiḥ(-a-)(âttilam upakâram),
 (c) *Asmabhyam (-ā-) chā,(-â-) asura, yena *dvishataḥ(-t-) (dveshiṇaḥ(-no*
vâ) dveshânsi tûrvema.

1 *Haye* is inserted only to mark the possible vocative; so elsewhere throughout.

2 Indra is also '*ojasvat*'—

7. (a) dâidi ashâ¹ tām ashīm² vañhēush (= -osh) âyaptâ manañhō; ➔
 (b) dâidi tū ār(a)maitē,³ vištāspāi (a)ēshem⁴ maibyā-châ;
 (c) dās-tū, mazdā khshayā-châ,⁵ yā vē mǎthrā srev(a)ēmā⁶ rādā.

1 *Daidt* seems an older form than *dehi*. The question arises whether *Ashâ* be not always in form an instr. with inherent nom. or voc. Otherwise of course *Ashâ* may be here as voc. a masc.

2 Notice the intended (?) alliteration.

3 After *tū* the voc. —*tē* looks more natural than —*ti*:—see the other vocatives. Though *ār(a)maitē* looks reasonable.

4 See (a) *ēshem* in the undoubted sense of 'prayer'; recall strophe 4. See the vivid personality, proving contemporaneous actualities.

5 2nd sg. imperv. or voc. sg. masc.

6 Some might read '*srevim*' as '*sreyam*,' acc., with '*mǎthrā*' as nom. sg. m.: *ārādā* as 1st sg. conj. act. There is the question whether Avestic *sru*—does not at times mean 'make hear' aside from the causative, it seems quite singular that the Pahlavi *srd lan* should mean 'proclaim'—See the same peculiarity inverted with regard to Av. *gush* = 'to hear' whereas Indian *ghush* = 'to roar', etc.

[(Notice the same incisively personal expression throughout,—see the Festgruss at p. 194. A great Avesta-Vedist used to say that these strophes were to him the convincing proof that the Gāthas were hymns written at the time when the events alluded to transpired; and I add, in the crisis of a civil or inter-tribal war, a struggle to secure the political power. How ridiculous becomes the supposition that they were written close upon the time of Christ when the language had been Pahlavi for centuries)]

Transl. O Asha (Archangel of the Truth,—the Holy Law—) bestow on me this reward,—the attained-prizes of Vohu Manah¹ (the Good Mind of my intention and devotion).

(b) And do thou, O Aramaiti (Archangel of the Holy Zeal), grant to Vištāspa and to me² our wish;—

(c) May'st Thou, O Ahura, vouchsafe and provide³ that whereby we may (fully) hear (to proclaim) Your benignant words.⁴

1 See once more the difficulty of "the angelic personification." "The Good Mind of the faithful who are the reward" is the foremost idea. An eminent Vedist would most certainly have here rendered "the rewards of the Good Man"

2 Z. as the author.

3 Or, "do thou grant, O Mazda and ruler."

4 Or again, with another text, "that I may, as thy manthra-speaker, cause thy message to succeed." Notice how little these variants affect what we most treasure in these hymns, which is the depth and vitality of the moral-religious ideas.

AS VEDA.

- (a) Dehi, (haye) ṛta (tvam, kila tava-tanute)—haye tava(-ā)-ātmabhāva
 sākshāt (-ch) chetasā (-e) iva kṛta(-te); dehi tām ṛtim
 (iti, kila, phalaṃ punyaṃ) vasoh (phalāni(-y)) āptāni manasaḥ,
 (b) Dehi, tvam, aramate¹, Vištāspāya (-ai-) esham (artham prārthitam)
 mahyaṃ (-ñ-)cha; ➔
 (c) Dāh(-s) tvam, (su)manthāḥ, kshaya-cha, (tat (-d)) yena vah (-vo) mant-
 rān (pravachanārtham(-ñ) śṛṇvayāma² (śṛavayema) rādho-dāh.

1 Or —*tyā* reading—*ñ*.

2 Or 'yena vah (vo) mantrāni (ñ) śṛavayema...—or again, 'yena vah (-s) śṛavyam mantravī (-d) ādā (-dmi, ādāhāyini),—so with differing Av. text, N. B.—See Gāthas, Comm.

8. (a) va¹ishtem thvâ (= thvām) vahishtâ,¹ yēm ashâ vahishtâ haz-
(a)oshem²
(b) ahurem yâsâ³ vâunush² (= vavanush) narôî (= narē) frash(a)oshtrâi
maibyâ⁴-châ
(c) y(a)ēibyas-châ it̄ rānhānhôî (= -ē)⁵ vispâi yavē vañhēush (= -osh)
manāñhō.⁶

1 Again intentional (?) alliteration. The acc. forms here are idiomatic irregularities.

2 Very Vedic.

3 Note well again the frequent 1st pers. sg. in -i, occurring throughout as against -āmi, — they are more ancient and Vedic.

4 Lost nasalisation, as often, — see the Inscriptions.

5 Hardly a first personal here as in *nīpīnhē* (—*pīse*) after the expression of a 'prayer',—see also (a)ēibyas—.

6 Notice again the ever-constant difficulty of rendering V. M. merely as *Vohu Manah* the Archangel, with loss of the incisive meaning of the words: — so throughout the Gāthas. *Vohu Manah* is also a foreign word to us, not to be used in such a translation. Imagine again Z. using even a Vedic word in his Avesta hymn.

Transl. (a,b) That best of gifts, therefore do I beseech of Thee, O Thou best one, Ahura, one in-will, (as Thou art) with Asha (Archangel of Thy Holy-Law), likewise the best (of spirits), desiring (it, as I now do) for the heroic frash(a)oshtra, and for me, (c) upon whom verily may'st Thou bestow it for all the age (and dispensation) of Thy Good Mind¹ (the duration of Our Holy Cause once established and supreme).

1 Another introduced the idea of the 'best-gift' or 'best thing' from line (a) here as understood; —it seems rather remote and compare Y. 31,4. where *vāchishta manah* occurs as exceptionally expressive of a 'continuous state'

AS VEDA.

8. (a) Vasishtham tvām, (haye) vasishtha, yam (iti, yah(-a) rtena vasishthena
sajosham (iti, kila, tvām yah (ya) rtena sajoshah (-o's-) asi(-y-) asasi)
(b) Asuram yâsâ¹ (-āmi, imam esha(-ā-)artham) vavanvân nare
*Phrashoshtrâya mahyam (-ñ-) cha²
(c) Yebhyah(-ś)-cha(-e) id rāsāse³ visvasmai⁴ yugâya⁵ vasoh(-r) manasah.

1 *yachchhāmi* in the Festgruss.

2 See the 'personality' again.

3 Recall *rāsate*.

4 As there was an ind. *sue* (loc.) side-by-side with *arasmīn*, so there may have once been an ind. *nīśāya*.

5 One might form a Sanskrit *yug*, see *nigru* to 2d *yu*, more like the Gāthic; see *nigava-*, though *yug-* looks as if it were also kindred to *yu-* 'to unite.'

9. (a) anâish vâ nôit (=nêit), ahurâ mazdâ, ashem-châ¹, yânâish² zarn(a)ēmâ
 (b) manas-châ hyat³ vahisstem, yôit (=vê) vē yôithimâ (=yath-) dasemē⁴
 (dahmē (?)) stūtām;
 (c) yûzhēm zevishtyânâhō (a)ēsha⁵-khshathrem-châ savañhâm.

1 Here personification becomes more pronounced.

2 From this I supply 'yâtnem' in strophe 1 as in agreement with p(a)ourciyem; see it likewise reproduced in the later but still ancient introduction, as yânâm=yânyam.

3 Is not *hyat* conceivably *hvat* — 'quod,' (**kvod) ? u(ii = y) is constantly miswritten for u (u u = v) The *h* seems difficult; — it was probably a mere rough breathing unless the two, *hy* = quo —.

4 Or *dasmē*, see the metre.

5 (A) *ēsha* is a better reading than (a) *ēshō* 'the wish and the power'. This form has its bearing upon strophe 4; which see.

Transl. (a, b) On account of those-boons-of-strengthening-grace (and in our prayers for them) may we not anger¹ You, O Ahura Mazda, nor Asha (Archangel of Thy Law), nor Vohumanah (Thy Good Mind, by defect of utterance), since we have (indeed-made-(manifold)-effort in the tenfold (chorus) of (Thy) praisers;—

(c) Be³ Ye most-swiftly-furthering toward-the-One-king³-over-his wish as regards these successes (or 'toward the one praying for blessings, and for their completed-acquisition).

1 "Through conscious or unconscious defect in the method of our worship". Such a tone is more consonant with the pagan spirit than with that of the Gâthâ, so that in S. B. E. XXXI, I was inclined to read, "animated by these blessings may we not anger you," but see Yasna I. 50—67.

2 Or 'Ye are the. . .'

3 Notice the word *Khshathrem* as impossibly describing the Archangel. Recall the *asûrahya* "the not feeble" potentate of XXIX.

AS VEDA.

9. (a) Ebhih(-r) vah (vo) ned, asura (su-)medhah(-a), rtam(-ñ-) -cha
 (rta cha) yânâih(-r) hrñâyema *(?) iti, kila, ned vah (vo)
 *hârayema (?), krodhayema),
 (b) Manah(-ś)-cha yat(-d) vasishtham (asi(-y) asasi (-î), iti, kila,
 haye, tava ? tanute (-a-) iva sâkshât (-ch) chetasâ krte(-vayam),
 ye vah (-vo) yetima dasame (dâśi, dasme) stūtām;
 (c) Yûyam (-ñ-) javisthâsah (-so javanatamâh (stha (-â-) abhi)) esha-
 kshatram(-ñ-) cha śavasâm (kila, tam asma-râjânam bhûyishtham
 tasya(-o-) udyogini prayatne prajāvayatha).

10. (a) *āt yēng ashāt-cha¹ vōistā(=vēstā) vanhēush (= -osh)-chā dāthēng mananhō*
 (b) *erethvēng,² mazdā ahurā, (a)ēibyō perenā āpanāish kāmēm;*
 (c) *āt vē khshmaibya asūnā v(a)ēdā hvar(e)thya vaiñtyā sravū.*

1 Notice that the personification of *ashu* and V. M. is here only at all possible when we realize that their very existence as *ashu* and V. M. implied 'living holiness'. All here abandon mere angelic personification.

2 *-ēng* is really = *ān* or *-ān-sh*, throughout-sometimes for *-ān* (?)—

Transl. (a,b) Whom, therefore, Thou knowest, O Mazda Ahura, to be the holy creatures¹ of Vohumanah (Archangel of Thy Good Will), and from *ashat*(as their sanctity)², to these do thou fill-up desire with (their)-results attained,

(c) For I have known Your (inspired) words to be never-void-of-their-effect, reaching-(ever)-well their aim,³ victorious (for our weal).

—[(Alternative : "What gifts thou knowest to be the holy gifts of a Good Mind, from these do thou fill (our desire through acquisitions (of them) ; for I have known your (revealed) words to be to you never-void-of-their-effect³ regarding-(our needful) food*, and for (other) objects (most) desired).]⁴

1 The 'ordinances' or the 'established laws';— It is hardly necessary to take "*dāthēng*" as meaning "the de-ver".

2 Hardly 'from the 'Archangel *Ashu*' as if imparting information.

* 'Food was then as now the supreme question. Zarathushtra first canonised the man who grows wheat;—must we not revert to him ?

3 They will "fill desire."

4 The alternative, while, as ever in all the alternatives, it may vary the literary point, does not affect the main idea. 'Food' was, as ever, the 'first question'

AS VEDA.

10. (a) *Āt(-d) yān (yāni (vā)) (-ar-) rtāt (-ch)-cha vettha vasoh(-ś)-cha dādān (!) (ādhānāni, dātāni) manasah(-o)*
 (b) *Rtāvanah(-o) (?) (rtāvāni vā, (haye) su-medhah (-o, 's-) asura (-ai-), ebhvah (ebhih) pṛṇa¹ (-ā-) asma-prayatnaih (-ri) āpānaih (-nānām hetoh); kāmam²*
 (c) *Āt(-d) vah(-vo) yushmabhyam asūnāni³ veda svarthāni⁴ vantyāni,⁵ (kāmārtham prārthitam vanishtāni), śravānsi.*

1 Whether *pṛṇā* should be so accented : see *srjā, vrjā* (Delb.)

2 Notice *kāmēm* in its full sense ; *-kāme* in Y. 32 is not so probable as merely equalling 'earnestly.'

3 To (a) *sūna*=(non)-'emptiness', *sūnya*—.

4 To *su-ārtha*=well-reaching their aim. Or following the Pahl. pers and Sk for our food supplies' in d. hvr-, *hivrate* (?) as 'twisting in chewing' and so for 'eating.' Consider also *jhva-*, *jhval-* for form only, with the idea of 'heating'.

5 So for *vaiñtyā* (more original acc. pl. nt.) to *van-*—to acquire ; see the suffix *-tya* in an *aptya*, etc consider also *vāchūnāni*.

11. (a) yē āish ashem¹ nipāñhē manas-châ vohu yav(a)ētāitē.
 (b) tvēm mazdâ ahurâ frô mâ sishâ thvahmât v(a)ochaiñhē
 (c) manyēush (= —yosh)² hachâ thvâ āñhâ yāish â añhush p(a)ourvyô
 bavāt.³

1 Notice again the continuous necessity for recognising Asha as a quality, or better as a quality embodied in the faithful citizen, the Archangel could not be held 'in protection.' Asha is here the 'Sanctity of the Land' embodied in the Holy Community, as *Manaschâ vohû* equals the saint replete with the inspiration of Ahura's Good Mind. Cp. again 49,10.

2 *Spēnīshā manyu* (?).

3 In view of Y. 30, it seems difficult to avoid the plain sense here.—We can hardly see a 'new world' or 'excellent dispensation' here, or take 'bavāt' fully and exclusively as an improper conj. with fut sense. *P(a)ourvya*—means 'prior' beyond all question in such connection, emphatically referring to the past rather than to the future, while 'creations' is a 'choice' theme everywhere in Avesta and is just here especially in point. Upon it is based all obligation and authority. Y. 30 should here follow.

Transl. (Yea, I approach Thee with my prayers), I, who through-these means (of grace) would protect Asha¹ (as the Spirit of Thine Holy Tribes² and Law), and Vohu Manah (likewise embodied in Thy Saints) for-ever-(for this reason)—teach Thou me forth, O Mazda Ahura, to proclaim (to Thy Folk) from Thy (most holy) Spirit (as) with Thy mouth, how the first world arose (and how it may be; i.e. 'may recur,')³

1 He could not wish to "protect the Archangel".

2 So *Vohu Manah* must be here again "embodied in the saint".

3 So, venturing to add, holding that this idea may alternatively fit the context the more aptly, in case that, as some think, *bavāt* were also somewhat felt as improp. conj. in a future conj. sense. Yet see the theme 'creation.' Y. XXX follows naturally upon this as Y. XXIX precedes it.

AS VEDA.

11. (a) (Aham) yah (ya) ebhiḥ (-r (?)) ṛtaṃ nipāse,¹ manah(-s'-)cha vasu
 yugāya² (-â-) ananta-kālāya
 (b) Tvam, (haye) su-medhaḥ, (-o's-), asura, pra-u (pro) mâ śisha³
 (śikshaya (?)) tvadīyât (-d) vacase
 (c) Manyoḥ(-s) sachā (saha (?)) *tvena (?),⁴ tvadīyenâ (-â-) âsâ, yaiḥ (-r)
 â (-â-) asuḥ pūrvyah (-yo'bh-) abhavat.⁵

1 To the aor. stem *pīsa*—, but med. Notice this first sing. med. here first suggested by the Pahl. to be classed with the other 1st singular med.'s, in—, cited by Whitney *archae. rñjase, yajase*; so better than as an infin. (for imperv. with some);—see the very characteristic first personals throughout. Here the Pahlavi translator first made this acutely critical suggestion, interesting, even if it be not really correct:—it is most possible.

2 Could we form a *garatā* to *yu* ?; see *sarvatāt, satyatāt*, etc.

3 *śishā*—to the 'a' aor. stem *śisha*—, see the imperv.'s to the 'a' aor., *vida*, etc.; or *śikshaya*, to *śak*.

4 So formable from the one occurrence *tvābhīh*.

5 Or *bharat* as improp. conj. [It is requested that this piece be studied only in connection with, S. B. E. XXXI, 1887. Gāthas 1892-94. Roth's Festgruss, 1893. Z. D. M. G. 1911-12 (Y. XLIV in Sanskrit), the Muséeon 1912 (Y. XXIX in Sanskrit), Z. D. M. G. Y. XXX in Sanskrit 1914, Muséeon (Y. XXXI in Sanskrit, 1914), and the Dictionary of the Gāthic Language of the Zend Avesta, 1913. (See also YASNA I in its Sanskrit equivalent, Appendix, 1910). Readers will kindly condone misprints and defective transliteration which were inevitable owing to distance, and the absence of some types.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Here are eleven strophes, each containing three lines of seven plus nine syllables, with the constant caesura;—say about five hundred and twenty syllables, and out of the whole mass scarcely more than one or two of the words are disputed as to the original root-meaning, for which also almost identical Sanskrit equivalents are readily available. In fact by 'merely restoring' the now shattered Avestic forms, the Avesta becomes of itself nearly Vedic Sanskrit, while valuable alternatives offer themselves with the few obscurities;—the forms as well as the roots likewise present little difficulty when scientifically deciphered. Even the wranglings among experts as to the last pointing of the ideas is here largely excluded, when we are not so unreasonable as to expect minute unanimity.

And here I am obliged to insert a remark which does not concern the exact scientific elucidation of this chapter as an isolated relic of antiquity. It is this—and it vitally concerns the history of moral-religious-philosophy. Let the reader *note it well*. What gives this chapter with the rest of the Gāthas their *inestimable position* as the earliest documents of interior, that is to say, of 'real' religion, and of the 'moral idea,' making them the first¹ documents in this 'higher criticism,' is here not touched by any differences in the last pointing of the literary sense;—it is all unavoidably included in almost every strophe.

¹ If the Avesta orthodoxy and eschatology largely coincides with that of the Exilic pharisaism, even entirely aside from all question of historical connection between the two, then this fact which is not contested or contestable, should be closely examined by all who seriously study the Semitic orthodoxy, all the more indeed in respect toward the eminent scholars who believe the historical connection to have approached historical identity as well as toward those who maintain the *via media*. Such discussions as this is meant to be should be multiplied in view of this all-important, if not supreme, consideration.

L. H. M.

YASNA XXXI

IN ITS

SANSKRIT EQUIVALENT

TOGETHER WITH A REVISED VERSION OF THE

**Translations in the XXXIst volume of the
SACRED BOOKS of the EAST 1887 and in the
FIVE ZARATHUSTRIAN GĀTHĀS 1892-94**

BY

PROFESSOR MILLS

OXFORD

March, 1914.

YASNA XXXI IN ITS SANSKRIT FORMS.

1. Tā^{*1} (tāni) vaḥ (vo)* vrata(-āni) smarantaḥ(-o'śr-) aśrutāni vacānsi* śaṁsāmaḥ, (-kīla vacānsi yadyeva ghoṣatyā vāchā proktāni, tathā'pi(-y) adhi(-y-) ā yāvat(-d) akamataḥ(-ś) śrutāni(-y))

(b) ebhyaḥ(-o) ye vrataiḥ(-r)* druhaḥ(-a) ṛtasya gehāni (gayān** vṛjanāni* ca) mṛcyanti (-yān), marcayante (-āntai),

(c) āt(-c) ca (-ai-) ebhyaḥ (-o) vasiṣṭhāni ye **hṛd-dhāḥ ((-ā) (?), hṛdaya-bhaktayaḥ(-o's-)) asan (-t-) sumedhase (mahādhe)*.

*1 See Y. I with the Pahlavi, Persian and Sanskrit texts, together with the Author's accented Sanskrit rendering. 1910. — Y. XXVIII in Sanskrit, Roth's Festgruss, 1893, also in the Sir J. J. Memorial Vol., Bombay, 1914, — Y. XXIX in the Muséon 1912, — Y. XLIV. Acts of the International Congress, Paris, 1897 and in Z. D. M. G., 1911-1912, — Y. XXX, Z. D. M. G., 1914.

*2 Notice *aguštā* as = 'not heard', to ind. *ghūṣ-* = 'to shout'; to express this we might insert as above.

* Note well that the Druj could have her false '*vratas*'. Why not then also a false *hv(a)ētu*, *verezēna* and *airyaman*, as in Y. 32, 1. This point is important for the exegesis of that passage. This is now my alternative.

** In this XXXI we have a series of prayers in the height of the crisis. The hymn was written amidst the acute distress of a civil or border war; — houses and villages and provinces were overrun, — or so threatened.

2. Yadi(-y) ebhiḥ(-r) vacobhiḥ(-r)) ned ravaṇa-^{*1}śrut(-d)-

*1 To recall *rauti* as the source of *ruvan*, 'buzzing' in the ears as the voice of the soul'.

The Cause still hangs in suspense — would the Religion of Ahura Mazda be that of Persia for a thousand years, or the Religion of the Devas ? ; — this was the question.

1. These doctrines (therefore) we are (earnestly) declaring to You (as we) recite them forth (from memory), words (till now) unheard*¹ (with faith) by those who by means of the doctrinal-vows*² of the Druj (Lie-demon of our foes) are destroying the settlements of Asha*³ (Archangel of thy Holy Law), but words which are of the best unto those who are heartily devoted to Mazda.

*1 So also Roth, 'wollen wir worte künden — ungern gehört von denen, welche nach des Unholds Geboten', etc.

*2 The Pahlavi *Valāšān mūn pavan āfrīngānīh ī Drūj zag ī Aharāyīh gēhān barā marencīnēd*. Let it be noted again that a doctrinal system of the adverse party is recognised, and even such a word as *vratā* is applied to it. This fact is of great importance to the whole question of the Gāthas; — without it it would be highly uncritical to speak of the religious system of the Druj as fit even for approximate recognition.

*3 Why not the settlements of *Vohu Manah* ? Doubtless because *Asha* meant the legal 'Righteousness'. (The Sandhi throughout is again redundantly applied.)

2. And if by this means the indubitable truths are not visible to the soul*¹, then as better (than these words) I will

*1 The Pahlavi renders 'to the soul' freely by 'believes': *Pavan nikīrīšn' lā hēmnunēd* (deceived by the recollection of the form of 'ātmane') *aš pavan zag ī agūmānīkīh*. The general indications only are to be observed.

ātmane ('dv-) advayāñsi*¹ (kila, (yadi(-y) asma-dharma-vidyā-viśe-
ṣaṇāni (-y) ned advayanti (-ī-) iva (-ā-) abhi-dṛṣṭāni*¹ (asan(-n)
(abhi-dṛṣyāntai) vasyāñsi ((^{*2}-ī-) iva (-ā-), asma-svasti-prāptaye
(-a) upayogi(n)tarāni(-y)),

(b) āt (téna) vaḥ(-o) viśvān(-ñ-ā(-e-) iye (svayam pratyakṣam*³
emi (aimi) yathā (yataḥ(-a)) ṛtum (ṛtu-patim (??, ity kadācid)
asuraḥ(-o) veda, (abhiṣamjajñau)*⁴

(c) sumedhāḥ ((-ā) mahādihāḥ(-ā)), ṛtum ekam aiśvaryavan-
tam iva) ayoh(-or) aṇṣayoh*⁵(-or)* yena (-ar-) ṛtāt (-te) sacā
((-ar-) ṛtena saha)* jīvāmasi ((?), jīvāma)*⁶.

*¹ Read perhaps *advayāñsi* = *advayāñsi* for Av. *advā* — but the metre! — see the Pahlavi. Otherwise 'the way' *adhvā* as = 'path'; — but the participle does not agree, — this might be, however, emended, — so properly. Compare for meaning *karm advayantañ, -śakhū (-a-) advayāḥ*. Or with '*adhvā*' '*yadi(-y) ebhiḥ(-r) ned ātmane(-dh-) adhvā(-ā-) abhi-dṛṣṭān vasyāñ iva (-ā-) asat, (kila yadi(-y) adhvā ned vasyāñ iva dṛṣyāte*' = 'if to the soul our way as the better is not in sight'. A most clever suggestion, which, however, sounds rather late and artificial: — but I most emphatically adopt it as an alternative.

*² As better than the '*vṛata*' of the Druj(-k); see strophe 1.

*³ That is to say, I, Zarathushtra, will come personally; — the prior announcement may have been declared through deputies.

*⁴ *asma-mantravadañ viśveṣāñ anyeṣāñ mantravidāñ nis(-r)-viveda, abhiṣam-jajñauca, (-ar-) ekam agriṣam iva pramāṇa-bhṛtam*.

*⁵ *aṇṣayoh(-or) nūnam evaṇ paraspāram etavat(-d) dṛeṣiṇoh*.

*⁶ There is no such word at all as *juv-*; — the 'j' could easily be confused in a manuscript with 'i' = 'i' and j, or j (= j with the sign of lengthening).

5. Yām (parituṣṭiñ vipratipatteḥ(-r) ubhābhyām) dhāḥ (-ā),
(haye) manyo*¹ (-unā (?) vā (-ā-)) atharyā ca (-ar-) ṛtena ca

*¹ Notice this form of *mainyū*; — hardly instrumental; — see the 2d. personal verb.

come to you all (in my person, with that power, and in that way) according to which Ahura Mazda knows (and appoints (especially understands and recognises) (me as) His ruler^{*1}, that ruler over both the two (struggling) sides^{*2} in order that we (in obedience to Him)^{*2}, may live according to Asha (as His Law)^{*3}.

^{*1} Comp. chap XXIX, 2, where the Ratu is discussed, here the word might be the abstract = 'regulation'.

^{*2} So also Roth, 'dieser beiden Parteien (Yasna XXXI)'. He repels and condemns the evil, and he hallows and helps the good.

^{*3} Notice that he seems to claim for his cause a higher person, or law, who, or which, might eventually, through some victory (!), harmonise (!) the antagonistic elements within the two systems. Ahura knows, i. e. recognises, such an one to be properly supreme over both. A most significant statement. How far had the breach gone between the two parties; — and how long since? We seem to be here near the very birth-time of the great schism which divided forever the adherents of Ahura Mazda in Persia from those of the Devas.

5. And that keenness, (that deciding satisfaction) which Thou hast given by (Thy) Spirit^{*1}, and (Thy) Fire, and by Asha (Thy Law itself) to the two battling sides^{*2}, do Thou declare

^{*1} Most striking is the use of 'mainyu' without the adjective. So, often; — it is 'the Spirit' = 'God'; — it is 'His Spirit', His 'Spenishta Mainyu'. It is also used of man's 'spirit'.

^{*2} Or, reading *ranibhyā* 'from the two *aranī*'; — recall the 'two kindling sticks'; so according to the brilliant suggestion of Haug; — but see *āsayāo* in verse 2. The Pahlavi translator has *av' patkārđārān' shnākhhtārīh*; — to this effect uniformly, so in Y. XLIII, 12 K5 and most Mss., except K4, — and likewise excepting the printed V. S.(?), — read *rānōibhyō* which excludes the dual form; — also the 'fire' is not mentioned there. It is however far from impossible that the present Pahlavi translation may be a growth beyond an earlier one more in accordance with *aranī*. The 'strivers', or 'fighters', might possibly (!) here describe the two rubbing-sticks (!).

(tava) viśeṣaṇaiḥ(-r) vi-cayeḥ(-r(?))** (-yāi- (?)) raṇābhyān nīa-
naḥ(-s(?))-kṣṇutām*¹,

(b) yat(-d) vratān(-ñ-) cakshuṣmadbhyah, (kila, yat(-d)
vratān vijñānavadbhyah parama-(-ā-)-adhikāram (iti) vidya-
(-ā-)te) tat (-d naḥ, sumedhaḥ (-o) mādādhāḥ), vidmane (vidma-
narthān) voca,

(c) jihvā(-ayā)*² tava (-ā-) āsaḥ (pravoca) yena jīvataḥ(-o)*
viśvān*³ (asma-dharma-panthānān) vārayāmi*⁴.

*1 .. *iti, kila, yān tūṣṭimatīm buddhīm kṣṇutām iva. (-e-) iti sarupakam manasvat prāyam, dāḥ(-ā) yayū (-o-) ubhau(-ā) anśau, pṛthak pṛthak(-g) asma-(-ar-)pṛjūn dharma-panthām upagṛbhṇāte(-a), ekaḥ(-a), ekaḥ(-a), upagṛbhṇāt, tat(-d) me dāḥ (dehī).*

*2 Notice the necessarily figurative sense. He calls on God to answer audibly ;
cp. Y. 28, 11 ' with the tongue of His mouth ' ; — recall also Y. 51, 13.

*3 ... *ned mātrena kevalam imau(-ā)* anśau*, viśve tu viśvatra(-ā-) asma-dharma-panthām upagṛbhṇān.*

*4 *vārayāmi* ? : — cp. for form *dādhāraya-* to *dhṛ-* caus. from intens. *viśvān asma-janān bhūyīṣṭhām(-ñ-) *śraddhā-manasaḥ karāṇi (*kṛṇavāni).*

4. Yadā(-ar-) rtān (divya-(-e-) īśvara-svargīyah (-a) iva) hav-

*3 Personification impossible. *Ar(a)maiti* cannot here refer immediately to the ' Archangel '. He does not pray ' *in company with* the Archangel ' but ' animated by the Zeal which the Archangel personifies ' — so with *Vanhishta Manah*, — see also *Khshatrem* ; — they cannot here refer to the ' Archangels '. He did not pray *for a ' person '* — but for the religious-political power, and such distinctions are vital. The entire question of the value of the Gāthas as the first expression of interior ideas, depends on such passages as these where the mere inferior idea of ' personification ' is totally excluded. Every possible passage where we can avoid rendering the ' Archangel ', or the ' saint ' elevates the subject. Personification gives everywhere more colour, but what we need is to *verify the depth*. The personification necessarily took place as a secondary thought, and here we see the process of the change going on before our eyes. An immense point in the history of religious-philosophical ideas

unto us that we may know it, O Ahura, that sacred Lore which is for the seeing*¹ (as those endowed with mental light). Yea, do Thou declare this to us that we may know it, O Mazda. With the tongue of Thy mouth do Thou speak it that (as I preach its mighty truths*²) I may make all the living believers*³ !

*¹ The Pahlavi *āīmar* (sic) *vijārdār*. This meaning suits the connection admirably. The word is otherwise difficult, and this general sense is followed by some who do not so often cite the Pahlavi translator, — and only knew it at second hand.

*² See strophe I.

*³ So also Roth, — ' wie ich alle lebenden bekehren soll '. So also the general indication of the Pahlavi translator. That the idea of an ' universal conversion of sinners ', ' aliens ', or ' natives ', is here foreshadowed admits no doubt ; — but throughout this XXXI, the great Cause hangs in suspense. N. B. Of course the wavering saints were to some extent held in view ; — and I now think that the ' living ' here referred to were, more immediately, the ' Church ', ' the elect ', not yet fully conformed in their new faith.

4. When Asha (Archangel of the Holy Law) shall be inclined to my appeal*¹, and with him all those (remaining ones who are as) Mazda's*² (own) Ahuras, then with the blessedness (of the reward), with (my) Holy Zeal (as Aramaiti)*³ and with

*¹ The general Pahlavi indications *karītūntār* and *bavīhūnam* point to the proper sense. Most writers value the general indication of the Pahlavi, etc., as soon as they become acquainted with it.

*² Notice a similar occurrence in Y. 30, 9, the other Ameshaspenta's as the Ahura's of Mazda.

Or, with Roth, ' wenn wirklich sich rufen lassen die Ahura-Mazdas ' (?). Otherwise ' O (?) Mazda and the Ahuras '. Hübschmann also maintained that *Mazdās* — was here a plural ; (see his Y. XXX, 10). I prefer a gen., though the Sanskrit gen. to the *-āh* nom. would have the short '*-ah*'. ' Ahura ' is a term applied not only to Mazda, but to the prophets, and also as here to the Archangels.

yam^{*1} (-āḥ(-ā) asan(-t-) sumedasaḥ (-ś) ca mahādhaḥ (-o'^ś-) asurāsaḥ*(-a),

(b) **ṛtṛyā (?) ca (-ar-) ṛtāvaryā(-ā-) aramatyā (saha, samanā) vasiṣṭhena icchā(-āmi)^{*1} manasā (tathā prārthayamānaḥ (-o)) ; —

(c) mahyañ syāt kṣatram ojasvat(-d), (dehi), yasya vardhena vanema druhañ (piśacakīm)^{*2}.

*1 For Av. *iśasā* — which seems to be in itself an irregularity — we might recall merely in general *eṣiṣiṣa* — desid. of *iṣ- icchāmi*. The Pahlavi indicates this sense.

*2 ... *Druham*asma-śatrūñ(r) drevśasā vi-śvūsayatīm*.

5. Tat(-d) me **vicitaye voca^{*1} yat(-d) me(-a) ṛtena dhāta (adadhāta) vasyaḥ (-yo, 'sma) asma-dharma-(-nīti-)-nirvāhaka-tarañ

(b) **vidé (?? vettave, vidmane (-manarthañ)) vasunā manasā, manah(-ś)^{*2} ca dātave, (manah(-s-) sañyuje (-yokturñ) tasmin) yaśya (smā) mama^{*3} ((?) madiyaḥ(-a) ṛṣiḥ(-ir))^{*4} (**pravavāca pra(-o-)uvāca), yat(-d) mama *mantravit(-d) māñ vijñāpayāñ cakāra, cakarāt(-d), (mama vratāñi(-y-) ṛṣvāñi vā)³, —

(c) tānicid, (haṇe) sumedhaḥ ((-dho) mahādhaḥ, (-ā)) asura, yāñi ned vā(-ā-) asat(-d), asati vā (asan).

*1 Notice again the constant appeals to God ' to speak '.

*2 -ēñ = the nasal vowel = -āñ, or sometimes -ā, -āñ, as in *māñ* ; here 'mēñ' = 'man', in *mēñ ca daidyāi*.

*3 *mā* looks much as if it stood for Av. *mana* = ' my '. We naturally recall the rare *mā-* in composition ; — or is it *sma*, *smā* ?

*4 Or — ' *mama (-ar-)ṛṣvāñi dharmāñi-vā* '.

Thy Best Mind (active within me), I will pray*¹ for that mighty Kingdom with whose force*² we may smite the Druj (Lie demon of the foe).

*¹ So also Roth, rendering *išasā* in accordance with the Pahlavi, 'erbitte ich'.

*² The Pahlavi has 'Man' *pavan zaḡ ī valō gūrdīh — khūshīd Drūj* 'aē' which sufficiently indicates the proper sense. So also Roth, 'kraft deren wir den Unhold bemeistern mögen'.

If he can hope for a successful hearing with Asha and the other amesha's, he prays most ardently for that legal political authority, backed by the available military forces, by which influence he may overcome the hostile party.

5. Aye, do Thou tell me that I may discern it, since through (Thine) Holy Law ye* gave*¹ me the better (creed); — tell me this that I may know*² it with (Thy) Good Mind (as it speaks within me), and that I may ponder³ that of which my prophet speaks (or, 'to which my truths belong', -yea), (tell me) those things, O Mazda Ahura, which may not be, and which may be*⁴. (-or 'which should not be...')

*¹ Or 'is given'.

*² He is anxious to be distinctly informed as to which of two good policies may be the better, that he may fix his mind and apply his information to what his Rishi (prophet) announces as the Divine will concerning what may not be done, and what should be done, as the crisis grows in intensity. It is not conceivable that he could have hesitated as to which of the 'two parties' was in the main correct in its beliefs, though there may well have been certain elements in the creed of the hostile party which deserved weighing. We must not forget that the D(a)eva party held to the old established system.

*³ The Pahlavi translator recognises *mēn-* elsewhere as = 'mānišn'. It was from no ignorance (!) of the particular word that he here wrote 'li'.

*⁴ Or, possibly, 'which shall not be, or which shall be'. Is the subjunctive here used to express obligation? So also Roth has 'was nicht sein soll oder was sein soll'.

6. asmai (-ā asma-mantravide (-vadāya) vā(-ā-) asat* (-d) (bhavāt(-d) vasiṣṭhaṁ (vacah(-o), kṣatraṁ vā, nīti-s(ṣ)ṁbandhi(-y), (adhirājyaṁ tasmai paramam upasthitaṁ) yaḥ(-o) me vidvān* vocat satyaṁ (mantraṁ (kila, tasya dharmāṇi vyavasthāḥ(-ś) ca) ; — (*āsīt. (?))

(b) mantraṁ yaṁ (yaḥ (-s-)) sarvatāteḥ(-r), ṛtasya(-ā-) amṛtatvasya ((-ā-) asat(-kila, mantraṁ eṣāṁ* paramāṇāṁ suk-
hānāṁ *īhalokinām, svargīyāṇām*, ihāmutra, mantraṁ viśvāni
teṣāṁ dharmāṇi vidyā-viśeṣāṇāni ca dṛḍha-sthāpayantaṁ, mūlā-
dārabhya vijñāpayantaṁ, vyākhyāpayantaṁ . . .). *(īhaloka-svar-
gāṇām...) (*āsām (?)).

(c) Sumedhase (mahādhe), (kila tasya (-ā-) asat ((-d) bhavāt, -iṣyati, (-y)) *avat(-d) (etādṛk) kṣatraṁ, (kila, kṣatraṁ tasya (sva-) parama(-ai-) aiśvara(-e)-icchayā, vaśena, tathā sakratum asat (-d)) yat *se (?), (yat(-d) asmai mantravide (tasya hetoḥ(-or)) vasunā vavakṣat (-d) manasā ; — (-o-) ukṣayat(-d) vā (-ā-) asuraḥ(-o) vasunā (vakṣayiṣyati)) manasā*¹.

*1 ... (kila(-ā-) asmai syāt(-d) asma-nija-bhūmi-kshetra- kṣatraṁ ; — tasya nīti-dharmam ukṣayat(-d) asuraḥ, puṇyatamam, akṣhitaṁ, *pramāṇavat(-d), — asurāya svayaṁ(-ñ-) ca tat sukhaṁ paramaṁ kṣatraṁ bhavāt(-d), nityaṁ svīyaṁ viśvathā.

7. Yāḥ(-s) tāni*¹ (vratāni(-y) āditaḥ(-o)manta) amanta pur-
vyaḥ, (samakālaṁ(-ñ-) ca) rocirbhiḥ(-s) **sam-retasyan(?)² svar-
vanti — (iti(-y) evaṁ, śabdakalpārthamātraṁ) ; — kila, yāḥ(-s) tāni
gurvarthāni dharmāṇi pūrvyaṁ bodhin-manāḥ(-ā) nirmāṇena (?)

*1 Is it 'tena' = 'for this purpose'?, or 'tāni'?

*2 *Retah*, to *ri*, *rī* = 'flow'. Recall *rīyate* ; — also the forms in -y-, -asy-.
*Dyāuh(-r) urī sakṛt(-s) **stīn* ((?) *itī(-y) evaṁ adhi-vasta*.

6. (Verily) shall there be (or 'there was') to him^{*1} the best (of all Manthra words (or 'that best authority', to him^{*1} who (as our) wise one (inspired by Mazda) will declare^{*2} to me in very deed, (b) (that word) which is the Manthra of Weal, of the Law, and of Deathless-long-life. And to Mazda (shall there be) a Realm such as (that whose strength I asked for victory^{*3}), and which (at the last) He shall cause to flourish for him (the prophet^{*4}) through his Good Mind (— or 'it shall flourish to Him (Mazda) through (His inspired manthra-speaking Saint) '.

*1 To the Prophet, — hardly to *Mazda* (?); — yet see *Mazdāi* below.

*2 Or 'has declared'. *Vaocāt* K 4.

*3 See strophe 4.

*4 Or to Ahura's prophet may there be destined the most approved manthra with its implied sovereign authority, and with its realised beneficent policy; — see XXIX, 'since he, as a fully inspired seer, has declared the vital mantra on which our cause depends', — see Y. XXX, — conveying the hope of Healthful Happiness, of Weal; of the established Law, and of Deathless long life, here and hereafter, the central aim of the newly re-founded system. For to that saint, and to Ahura's glory, shall that government be established; — and He will, or 'may He' extend and advance it with the 'great Benevolence' which is its keynote.

7. (For He has sovereign control.) He who conceived these (truths of the Manthra) (as the) first (inspirer to that effect) that the Heavens^{*1} (by like Law) first clothed themselves with

*1 The Pahlavi *Man'aš av' rōšanīh gūmīkht khvārīh*. *Hvāthrā* and *khvārīh* can hardly mean 'comfortable' here. 'Ease' is the later sense. Hardly 'the glorious conceptions clothed themselves with the lights (?) as I once preferred. *Raocēbiš* certainly means, 'with illuminating objects, stars or shining lights'.

avindat,*² tataḥ (-ś ca) sakṛt (-d) iva sadyaḥ(-o) nabhāñsi (-y̥)*
urdhvañ(-ve) svarvanti, (svayañ) nakṣatrāṇi(-y-) adhyavasata**),

(b) svaḥ (kila, sa, samanā, tulyena) kratvā**(-ai- evaṃ) dhātā
(-ā-) āsit(-d) ṛtañ (kila(-ar-) ṛtam adadhāt(-d)), yena dhārayat(-d)
vasiṣṭhañ manah, (kila, yena (-ā-) asma-janma-bhūmi(-y)-ekapu-
rañ dhārayat(-d) saha-vāsināñ, saha-dharman* vasiṣṭha-manas-
vantañ sahapauram) ; — (*... nabhastalam ... avasta.), (**-tunā.)

(c) tāni*¹ (puṇyāni), sumedhaḥ(-o), mahādhaḥ, manyo*¹
(-a) (ātman, nitya-kālam ukṣayaḥ*³(-o's-) asma-svastyartham
evaṃ, tvañ) yaḥ(-o) nūnañ(-ñ-) cid asuraḥ(-o'si) asi samaḥ.

*¹ Recall ' *imāñ dhīyam ... avindat* '.

*² Perhaps *manyunā*, but see the 2d. personal verb.

*³ Notice the quasi-irregularity of form in both languages *ukṣyō*, and
ukṣayaḥ. (Notice the pietism.)

8. Āt tvā* (tvāñ) mañsi*¹ pūrvyañ (sakṛt(-d) evaṃ), sume-
dhaḥ, (kila, viśvebhyaḥ(-o 'n-)) anyebhyaḥ(-o) manyubhyaḥ(-o'ti)
ati(-y-)aiśvaryavattarañ)* yajyūñ*² stau*³ (aste(?)*, sthi*(?)), asma-
stha*-būmyāñ**(?)) manasā,

(b) vasoḥ pitārañ manasaḥ((-o) naraḥ(-o) vasu-manas-

*¹ Recall Y. 43, ' *speñtem at thevā mēñ'hñ* ' in Y. XLIII.

*² ... *pūrvyañ yajyūñ*, *kila*, *viśvāñ apuñyāñ deva-bhaktikāñ ati svabhā-
vena (-a-)aty unnatañ*, *-tadheto asmābhī(-r) evaṃ viśva-hṛdaya-bhakti-
bhī(-r) yajyūñ*, *kevalam ekāntataḥ(-o) yajñīyañ mañsi...* ' First and alone
to be worshipped '.

*³ Recall *asta* = ' home ' , ' **aste* ' loc. might suffice. — or is it a dat. ? *astāya*,
astaye ; — cp. also *sti- stau* now used in pl. only ' household '. *Stōi* as infin. =
' to be ' seems to me to be most clumsily brought in. The verb ' to be ' in such
situations is almost universally understood ; — words are economised everywhere
in the Gāthā. Realism should dominate our exegesis.

stars, through His understanding is the Creator of Asha (our Holy Law), whereby He supports Vohu Manah (His Benevolent Mind in His Saints, that is, the 'Good-Minded-man') ; — and these (therefore (tena (?)) may'st Thou cause to prosper (as Thou hast created them), O Spirit,*¹ Thou who art for every 'now' the same !

*¹ *Mainyū* is most striking, again without the adjective. Hardly 'with Thy Spirit'. — see the 2^d singular verb ; — better 'O Spirit'. But the Pahlavi '*pavan mīnavadīkīh*'. He who first thought out the institutional statutes, whereby also, as a connected consequence, the heavens clothed themselves in stars — was likewise the creator of the law in general, whereby he maintains the faithful-believing citizen in his position ; — and these laws may He continue to prosper, who is ever the same. Ahura Our Lord. (He will not fail us). Notice the reiterated prayer for 'growth'.

8. Therefore, as the first*¹ did I conceive of Thee, O Ahura Mazda, as the one to be adored with the mind in the land, as the Father of the Good Mind within us, (that is, 'of the Good-minded man') when I beheld Thee with my (enlightened) eyes as the veritable maker of Asha (our Holy law within Thy saints*²),

*¹ So also Roth, 'vornehmsten'. Hardly here 'at first'.

*² We might almost render Asha as the 'Congregation', so also Roth often.

*⁴ He at once recognised Ahura as the one only to be worshipped in the land, — so against the D(ä)evas — as the 'Spiritual Father of the faithful citizen, — as the Founder of the Holy Law, — as the Lord in the deeds of the world, administering justice, guiding the good, and so controlling destiny'.

vataḥ(-o'sm-) asma-paśumataḥ(-s) *tvakṣīyasaḥ(-a), ṛtu-pateḥ (-r'),
yat tvā (tvām) (sañ(-ñ-)) cakṣaṇi sam-ā-agrabhaṁ (agr̥bhñām)
(c) satyam ṛtasya dhātāram, asoḥ(-r) asurañ (-ñ-) cyautneṣu.

9. tvā*¹ (tvadīyā (ā-)) āsīt(-d) aramatīḥ(-s) tvadīyah, ((-o),
haye) goḥ(-s) taṣṭar (tvaṣṭar) āsīt kratuḥ(-r)

(b) manyoḥ(-s), sumedhaḥ(-o) mabādāh(-ā), asura, yat(-d)
asyai (gave(-'d-)) adadāḥ((-ā) dharma-daivya-) panthām —

(c) kṛṣivalāt (-leṇa) vā (-ai-) eti*² (pathi, tena praṇītā,
(-o-)utsāhitā, — (tena) ye vā ned āsīt kṛṣivalaḥ...

*¹ *Tvōi* = ***tvē* = ***tvayī*, 𐬨𐬀 = 𐬨𐬀 = 𐬨𐬀 = 𐬨𐬀 (= 𐬨 + 𐬀) here = *y*
+ *a*. or *y* + *ā*; — for a ***tvayā* = 'thine'; — cp. for form *svaya(m)*; — cp.
thvōi = *thvē* = *thvayī*, Y. 44, 11. (This is of course entirely conjectural.)

*² I can hardly accede to *eti* as an infin., though the termination *-i* might be
dative. Even if *ā-ilē* stood in the text, it would be debris for *ā-itaye*; — a very
large percentage of apparent Avesta irregularities result from confusion with the
earlier Avesta-pahlavi alphabet.

*⁵ Notice that we are forced by every dictate of logic and common sense to
avoid a foolish literal rendering here. Cattle do not as a rule have 'paths' made
for them, nor do they 'cry aloud' for an overseer, or 'complain' at the appoint-
ment of one who does not appear to them promising; — nor is it one main effort
of religion 'to content the soul of cattle', though the Cow was evidently sacred.
Cattle, as the chief article of honourable wealth, are taken to signify all civic life.
The 'path' is the path for the people to walk in, securing safety for soul and life
and herds. The '*adhvan*', as another place has it, is 'the way' which 'is made
up of the religious characteristics and teachings of the prophets' (XXXIV, 13).
Notice the similarity of the expression 'paths' and 'way' to the same terms
used in the Semitic Scripture. — its use is here even more advanced.

as the Lord^{*1} in the actions of life (their judge and their controller).

*1 Here again the doctrine of the 'sovereignty' of God is clearly foreshadowed, — hardly fully stated, or fully understood.

9. Thine was Aramaiti (Holy Zeal^{*1}), yea, Thine, O Kine's Creator, was understanding of the Spirit, (or 'the Spirit'^{*2}), O Mazda Ahura, when Thou didst order a path^{*3} for her (guiding). From the earth's tiller (aided^{*4}) she goeth^{*1} (in that allotted way), or from him who was never tiller. (Thy path hath given her choice^{*5}).

*1 Notice that the word *ar(a)maitiš* must be used in its natural sense, and not as a proper name void of meaning. Here it equals 'energetic zeal'; — see *khrauš* just following.

*2 Reading *mainyēuš* with our Oxford Ms. Or again His '*speñta mainyu*' (?); otherwise 'spiritual (understanding)', but *mainyu* is used elsewhere (verse 3 and 7) alone, and certainly not as an adjective even with a substantive understood. The rendering 'spirit' as 'Thy spirit' is suspiciously significant; but what is the help? We are forced by grammar so to translate.

*3 As he created the kine. — the symbol of all agricultural well-being, and therefore of civilisation as against idleness, theft and murder. — so He decreed her destiny (*dharma-dairyañ panthānam*) — under obedience — guiding the development of labour. Have we not here the first effort known in history to sanctify and ennoble agricultural labour, giving honour to those without whom all honest races would starve? Is not this the acutest question of the present day also — to 'dignify labour'; — or shall we all starve?

*4 Hardly to 'leave the tiller' which seems very pointless; — the ablative has here the causative force, as in *ašāt hacā*. The Cow's keeper was behind her; — she went before and from him. The Pahlavi has '*pavan varzīdārīh*' a present; though the Pahlavi should never be positively cited for the grammatical forms, as they are there shattered.

10. Āt *si (sī(?)) (sā) ayoh(-or) antar(-rā))* pravarata (-vr̥ta) kshetra-tṛṇa-vastāram*² ((?)), ity evaṁ śabdakalpārthamātram, kīla, kṛṣṇivalam *utsāha-śīlam), *asyai (suāyai, (svayam*)) paśú-mantam (**psuyantam(?), **psuṣyantam(?))³, iti śabdakalpārtham punar api psu, (kīla, jīva-bhojanam yajvabhyaḥ (-o'bhi-) *abhi-dadhatam)

(b) asuram rtāvanam vasoh paśu-raivatya-bhrtam*⁴ asuram manasaḥ(-o)- ; (c) ned, (-t), sumedhaḥ(-o) (mahādhāḥ, (-ā-) *akṛṣi-karaḥ(-o) : *dīvyam(-ñ-)*-cana (dambhakaḥ (-ś-) cana) susmṛteḥ(-r) bhakṣitā (bhavāt) (*-yat(-e-)(?)).

*1 See *varata*. aor (?).

*2 To Av. *rah* = 'to clothe' the meadow with grass; — see ind. *vast-* to *vas* = 'to clothe'; — see *vāstra*-. Others prefer a separate root.

*3 Cp. for form only *uruṣy-* to *uru-*. — so. to illustrate the more the identity, of the Av. word with a possible Sanskt. form.

*4 *ścēṅghīm(-iyem)* = ***psāsiyam* (?); *ścēṅgh-* = *p-s-ū-s-*.

11. yat(-d) naḥ (-s) sumedhaḥ(-o) (mahādhāḥ pūrvyam gayān(-ñ-)ca (pura-gehāni, viśvān asma (-ā-) adhyuṣitān deśān) atakṣaḥ(-o-), dhyanānica (asma-dharma-vidyān sampurnām upāracayaḥ(-s), tena saha kadācid(-t) asmapuṇya-paura*-niyamān, vyāvahārikānica) *(-pura-)

(b) tvā ((?) *tvena(?))¹ tvadīyena manasā((-ā-) api(-y)) asma-kratūn (-mś-)ca (asma-dharma-buddhiṁ sarvataḥ(-o) vi-nayena prakāśitām),² yat(-d) asma (-ā-) asthanvat ((-ceh-) śārīri-ṇam) utthānam (uttānam** (?)) adadhāḥ(-ā, dadhātā**) —

*1 To a possible *tvena-* or *tvā-* possessive; — see again *tuūbhīh* possessive.

*2 *asma-nija-janya-matayaḥ* (-s) *sarvataḥ*.

When he had through imparted grace established that virtuous energy

10. (But she did not pause in her doubting.) For of the two she chose*¹ the husbandman, (the thrifty toiler in the fields,*²) as a holy master endowed with the Good Mind's (Good Man's) wealth*³. Never, Mazda, shall the thieving*⁴ nomad share the good creed.*⁵ (For the Kine's choice would bestow it !*⁶)

*1 Notice that this cow (some would say 'ox') chooses her master, unlike other cattle. But observe also, what is more interesting, that she seems reconciled to the guardian appointed by Ahura. In Y. XXIX. 9. she actually 'wept' at the naming of the 'pusillanimous Zarathustra'. desiring a 'kingly potentate'. Now, however, we see that she has dried her tears, as she is satisfied with the simple workman whom he represents notwithstanding high rank.

*2 In the later Avesta this first *vāstrya fšuyānt* is declared to be Zarathushtra. He certainly first sanctified the labour of the agriculturalist.

*3 The Pahlavi *Man' fšē(ñ)g* pavan Vohūman*.

*4 Pahlavi *davīśahūc*; Ner. *pratōrayitre*. This was the question — the Nomads lived by plundering raids on the neighbouring Zoroastrian land-owning farmers.

*5 *Khūp'-hōshmūrīšnīh*. 'Judicial blindness' is everywhere indicated. (The wicked are kept from the sight of the truth.) Notice the severe exclusiveness of the orthodox party. Were there three parties, the Ahura party, the D(a)eva party, and the raiding Turanians, or were these last classed with the D(a)eva-worshippers?

*6 This seems implied.

11. (This doctrine was the first of rules to regulate our actions. Yet the opposer speaks beside Thee). For when first, O Ahura Mazda. Thou didst create the (holy) settlements, and didst reveal the religious laws;*¹ — and when Thou gavest (us)

*1 Hardly with some 'madest the worlds and the souls (?)'.

which was to be their salvation, and when he had laid before them the particular course of action, as well as the principles, which were to guide the neophyte in the acceptance of his creed, — there high at once arose the dualistic clamour'.

(c) yat(-c-)ca cyautnāni (adadhāḥ kriyā-prasaṅgavanti prā-diśāḥ pradideśītha), śaṁsān(-ñ-)ca (deśīyān((-īns) tava (-ar-) ṛṣibhiḥ* pravocāḥ (pra-(-o-)-uvaktha-vā) yatra (svadharma-viddhi)-varān vaṣṭiḥ((-r) asma-śiṣyaḥ(-o) nūtanam abhi-gṛhitaḥ(-o)) dhatte (dadhate) ; — (kila, yat samādadhātha, (-ā-) adadhāḥ (-ā), yatra (yathā) vasiṣṭhan(-ṭhena) sva-dharma-mārgaṁ hita-kārata-ram iva (-ā) asma-śiṣyaḥ(-o) vṛṇavat, tasmai śrad(-dhām)- dhatte (dadhate) ...)

12. ... atra (sadyaḥ(-o)) vācaṁ bharati mithūvacāḥ(-ā) vā ṛjuvacāḥ(-ā) vā,

(b) vidvān vā (-ā-) ávidvān vā(-ā-), asya hr̥dā ca manasā ca (viśvataḥ prabodhitaḥ(-o)), —

(c) anuṣaktā(-ā-) anuṣaṅgiṇī) aramatiḥ, (kila(-ā-) anukra-meṇa, abādḥā (-ā-) asaṁbhramā (-ā-) aramatiḥ(-r), virāgavati tu(-tv) evaṁ, tathāpi* tīkṣṇa-matiḥ(-r) jīṇāsuh (-r)arāmatiḥ(-r) manyunā pr̥ccha(-ā-)te (kila, asma-(-ar-) -ṛṣiḥ(-r)** aramatyā (-o-) utsāhitaḥ (-to'bhi) abhi-vi-śvāsitaḥ(-o)) manyunā (nirbandhī*¹, manaḥ(-o)-grahaṇena-) pr̥cchati yatra **methanāni ((-y) asan, kila, -yatra (-ā-) *asacchāstriyāṇi(-y) avidhivanti, vi-prati-pat-tayaḥ(-o) viśvathā, vidya(-ā-)nte).* (ānuṣak)

*1 So now preferred to my view in '83-'87.

*2 It reads like a modern political-religious report in metre : Amidst the confusion there is heard the 'still small voice'. 'Aramaiti without confusion, in sober order and persistence, yet with keenness, inquires where the errors are.'

15. Yā (yāni) pr̥cchā(-ayā) āviḥ(ṣ(?))-kṛtāni, yā (yāni) vā, sumedhaḥ(-o), (asma-dharma-saha-pauraḥ(-ś),** citta-vyakuli

understanding from Thine own mind, and madest our (full) bodily life,*¹ (and didst thus determine) actions (by Thy judicial power), and didst moreover deliver to us (nearer) injunctions whereby (as by a rule) the wisher may place his choices.

*¹ Another ventures upon 'flesh' (?).

The Pahlavi *tūn'havandān' jān yehabūd*. Compare Y. XXX, 7. where Aramaiti gives 'a body' after previous creations.

12. (There strife at once arose, and still is raging) There (beside Thy prophet) the truthful or liar, the enlightened or unenlightened, lifts his voice (to utter his faith), and with devoted mind and heart. (But without hindrance from this striving, or pausing with feeble search) steadily (our) earnest zeal, Aramaiti, questions with animation where the errors (lie).*¹

*¹ Or, 'questions the two spirits (not here alone), but where they abide', — the two spirits as the two halves of the spiritual Universe (See Y. XXX). They were here inspiring the conflict. So the Pahlavi unvaryingly has *m(a)ēthā-* in the sense of *mihōnō* [*-aš gās ī tamā yehēvūnē*]: Ner. *paralokanivāsān*. See Y. XXX, 9; XXXIII, 9; XXXIV, 6. A questioning which was lightly made would indicate a willingness to tamper with error. The Persian Ms. following the Pahlavi has : *Angā būng ī buland ān ī durūgh guftār* [Ganā Mīnū] *ān ham ī rāst guftār* [Hōrmuzd], etc. But Neryosangh is less venturesome : *Atra bumbām* (?) *karoti* [*antar jagati*], *mithyāvaktū vō satyavaktā vō*, etc.

15. (Yea, my Zeal, as Aramaiti, questions searchingly, for Thou, O Mazda ! hast Thy view on all ; — we cannot question lightly). What things through question asked are open*¹ (permitted

*¹ *Pavan zag ī āškōrak'*.

kṛtaḥ) pṛchâte** tāyuh*¹ (?) (-r (?) iva) (kila, yāni guhṛyā (-yāni) pṛchâte).

(h) yaḥ(-yo)*² vā (praja-pīḍākāraḥ (-a iva (-ā-)) arbhasya (-ai-) enasaḥ (-a) ā (tena sambandhinīm) mahiṣṭhām āyamati bhujam, (kila, (-ā-)atitikṣṇam daṇḍam, anyāyam),

(c) tāni tava *cakṣaṇi tveṣe (**cakṣurbhṛyām(-in, -n)-tveṣ-ābhṛyām) spat((-d)iva viśvadrś(-k, -g), viśva-jñāḥ(-ā)) abhi (-ir-) ṛtēna vėnasi viśvāni !

*1 ... *pṛchayāni kenacid hetunā viśvathā prati-śiddhani, vidagdhatayī **steyakṛtā(-e-) iva prāyam, apaguptāni.*

*2 ... 'asma-deśīya-satruḥ pīḍakaraḥ(-o) nūnam alpakāla-mātram eva, dhik ! (-g (?) nūtane raṇa-karmaṇi jetā'. *Caśmēṅg* = *caśman* loc. = **cakṣaṇi*.

14. tāni tvā* (tvām pṛchā(-āmi), asura, yāni hi (-y-) ā(ai) eti ((-y) ā*-ayanti (-āntai,) abhi(-y-)ā* gāsyate*¹((?)-ante) ca, (kila yaḥ (-ā) nīti-śanibhavāḥ(-ā) nehdiṣṭhan sadyaḥ(-o'pekṣ-) apekṣitāḥ (-ā-) iva (-ā-) ā-ayante (-āntai) abhi(-y-)ā **gāsyate-ca (gāsyanti) ...)

(h) yaḥ ((-ā)ṛṇārthena(-e-)) iṣudhyāḥ(-ā) dadate dātrāṇām(-treṣu) sacā (-ar-) ṛtāvanah, (kila, yāni paritoṣa(-ā-)-arha(-ar-)ṛ-ṇāni (-ī-) iti(-ī) iva prāyam, ṛṇāni(-y) asma(-arṣ-)ṛṣaye dheyāni, tat(-d-) arthan samsodhyāni*² (tasya (-ā-) arha-lābhasya* hetoh(-r) dheyāni, svadātrāṇām hetoh(-r), pratyupakāra(-ā-)-arhāṇām (dātrāṇām, asma-nīti-dharma (-ā-) āyāsam uddhṛtām, tam upak-ṛṇvatām, prabhṛtām*, tadhetoh(-or) evam ṛṇāni (-y) asma(-ā) *iṣudhyitāni) ; —

*1 *gāsyati* = *jēṅghatī* ?

*2 ... *tasya* (-o-) *upakāraṇām atyupayoginām hetoh(-or) labhani** *pratyupakāreṇa* (-a-) *arhatām*. We owe the undoubted meaning of the Avesta *iṣud-* to the Pahl. Pers. and Sanskrit translators. Sanskrit *iṣudh-* does not include the idea of 'debt', as ' (dues)' 'sought again'.

to our thoughts), or what questions (are asked) which are furtive^{*1} (hiding themselves from the light), or (what decision soever we may make, and the man) who for the smallest sin binds on the heaviest penance^{*2}, on all^{*3} with Thy glittering eye(s) as a (righteous) guard Thou art gazing !

*1 The Pahlavi *Nīhanīk*. What questions were forbidden we cannot determine at all ; — possibly those involving astrology. or too close inquiries into destiny.

*2 Remorseless vengeance for trifles. — as the adherent of one party fell into the military power of the other.

*3 Thou seest even the questions and decisions of our thoughts as to matters which are simple or difficult. permitted or occult

14. This then I will ask Thee, O Ahura Mazda, (as I seek Thy counsel once again).^{*1} What (events) are coming now, and what (events) shall come in the future :^{*2} and what prayers-with-debt^{*3} confessions are offered from^{*4} the offerings of the holy ? And what (are the awards) for the faithless ? And how shall they be in the (final) state^{*5} of completion ?

*1 See verse 5.

*2 The Pahlavi has *man' maq'*. *va man'ic yehemtūnēd*. 'What has come ! — And what is coming ?

*3 The Pahlavi *man' avām*.

*4 Or *hacā* in the Indian sense.

*5 The summing up of judgment, the Pahlavi *angardīkīh*, the judgment ; but Ner. *vīpakata*, consummation.

(e) yāh(-ś) ca (anyathā), sumedhaḥ(-dho) (mahādhāḥ), (ṛṇa-(-e-)) iṣudhyāḥ (-ā) asan, yāh(-ā) daṇḍa(-ā-) arhāḥ dhvaradbyāḥ (pāpebhyah (-o's-) asan), ṛṇāni tasya duṣ-karmaṇām hetoḥ prati-kāra(-ā-) arhāṇām, yathā ca tāḥ (-ā) asan(-t-) saṁ(ñ)kṛtau, -yat : (kila, yathā (te(-a) ubhe(-a) iṣudhye (-a) ṛtava(-n-) pāpābhyām, viśvathā saṁśodhite bhaviṣyataḥ(-s) saṁśodhayiṣyete saṁ(ñ)-kṛtau).

15. *prechā* (-āmi (-y) *avat* ((-d) *etādriś-* (-k), -kila), *yā mēmih* (pratikarī(-y) *amuñ*, *tulya*ñ *pāpa-rṇavāna*ñ, *nipatiṣyati*) *yaḥ* (yo) *dvārate* (*asma-duṣ-kṣatrāya janya-nīti-śatruve*) *kṣatram* (*asma-kshetra-nīti-dharmāni*) *sunāti*, (*yaḥ*(-s-) *tāni*(-y-) *amuṣya duḥ*(-ś) *śaktau*(-āv), *etādriśaḥ*(-o), -tāñ *etāvat*(-d) *amūlyāñ janatā-* (-ā-)-*artha-lābhān**¹ *tasya hastayoḥ samādadhāti*)

(b) *duḥ**(-²-(*duś*)-*cyautnāya*(-ā-), *asura*, (*rāja-jana*(-ā-)-*abhi-droheṇa*, *mārātmākena sahasā*), *yāḥ* (yo) *néd* *sva-jīvātuñ sanitúr* (*ṛte*) *vindāti*

(c) *kṣṣīvalasya* (-ai-) *enasah*, (*kila*, *ned* *ṛte* (-ai-) *enasah* *kṣṣīvalasya*, *tañ prati*) *paśvaḥ*, *vīrāt*(-asya) *ca*(-ā) *adruhataḥ* ((-s)tāñ *prati*; *kila*, *yaḥ*) *sva-jīvana-vibhavañ ned* *anyathā vindati* ((-y) *āpayāti*(-ir-) *ṛte bādhat*(-d)*² *ṛtāvanaḥ*(-o).

*1 ... *asma sañya-balañ(-ñ-)-ca* (-e-), ***ity ādikam*. Recall for form only *duḥ-śaṇsa*, *duḥ-śeva*, etc.

*2 ... *ned* *ṛte steya-ghātanāt*(-d) *ṛtāvanañ prati*. *go-grahāt paśu*(-v-)-*apahārat*(-d), -*ned* *ṛte gṛha-dāha*(-ā-)-*aparāddheḥ*(-r), *iti*(-y) *ādi*(-y), *ekāntataḥ*. Striking features of a pristine Turkish raid.

16. *prechā* (-āmi(-y)) **avat*(-d), *adaḥ*(-a *etādriś-*(-k, -g); *yathā svaḥ* (*sa*(ḥ)) *yaḥ*(-s) *sudānuḥ*(-ur) *mānasya kṣatram*

(b) *kṣetrasya vā*, *dasyoḥ**³ ((-or) ?) *vā* ((-ā-) *asma-nija-bhūmi-deśasya* (-ar-)) *rtena** *poraḥ*(-o-) -*dhātave asprhata**(?) (*aspardhata*)

(c) *tvāvān*(-t *syāt*), *sumedhaḥ* (-dho'sura) *asura*, (*tathā*(-ai-) *evañ*, *kila*, *tvadīya-sevā*(-ā-)-*arhaḥ* (-s) *syāt tava mahagurvarthe*, *tat*(-d)-*madye*, *sañ*(-ñ-) *dhi-vigrahayoḥ*(-or), *ṛṣiḥ pravaktā-vā*, *yajakaḥ*(-o) *vā*, *yathā svaḥ* (*saḥ*, *so'sat*(-d), *asat*(-d), *yat*(-c)-*cyautnaḥ**, (*kila yāni* (*kāni* ?) *cyautnāni samākṛṇvan*(-rñs-) *tathā-vidhaḥ*(-o's-) *asat*(-d), *bhaviṣyati*).

*1 *Tvāvān*- 'how he may become worthy of thee, a fit leader in our holy national congregation'.

15. And I would ask Thee this, O Mazda, (concerning the coadjutor of the wicked) : What is the award*¹ for him who prepares the throne*² for the faithless, for the evil-doer,*³ Ahura, for him who cannot else reclaim*⁴ his life, not else save*⁵ with lawless harm to the tiller's herd, to the pious husbandman's flock who speaks no word with lying, (who abjures the Lie-demon's faith) ?

*1 So also Roth. 'Ich frage — was die Strafe ist?'

*2 The head of the D(a)eva party was of course continually plotting, as well as fighting openly, to bring in the rival sovereigns — rival to Vishtāspa.

*3 *Ī dūs-kūnišn'*.

*4 So also Roth (Yasna XXXI. p. 11), 'der sein Brot nicht findet ohne Gewalt an der Heerde'.

*5 The Pahlavi translator sees the root *han* in the sense of 'acquisition', and not from ignorance of the sense given above. In another place, he renders *javīd min* ; (see XLVII. 5).

16. Yea, I would ask Thee such a thing as this : — How such an one as he who, generous and wise, has striven to promote (Thy) Rule*¹ over house, and region, and province, in the Holy Law, and in truth, how he may become like Thee, Thine own,*² O Mazda Ahura ? And when he may so become, (this also I would ask). — and in what actions*³ (living he may so be ?)

*1 So also Roth. 'der die Herrschaft über Hof Gau und Land um das rechte zu fördern hat'. No Archangel here.

*2 The Pahlavi, *Lak hāvand* ; Neryosangh. *tvattulyah* ; so also Roth. 'deiner werth'.

*3 'By what actions' ; — 'in what exact course he should persevere with reference to the many religious and secular exigencies, public and private'. It seems almost incredible that such close and familiar questions could have been circulated at such a period and place ; — and we must carefully endeavour to estimate what an advanced state of social, civic, and religious development all this inevitably proves.

17. katarām (dvayoh(-or) vratayoh(-or) parasparam prāti-pakṣīoh(-or)) mahīyah(-yo)) vṛṇavate, ṛtāvā vā, dhvāran vā, vṛṇute (vratām) mahīyah(-a iva) (kila, katarasmai śrad-(-dhām) -dhatte (dadhate (?), kila, katarām ubhayoh(-or), asma-dharma-netā vā, nāstikaḥ(-ko) vā durjanah, (-o'sma-) asma-dharma-prati-pakṣī*¹, dveṣi ; — katarām vratām mahīyah(-o) vṛṇavate),

(b) vidvān viduṣe* bravītu ; — mā naḥ (-o'v-) avidvān api (*dirgha-kālataram, iti) dambhayet(-d) ; —

(c) edhi naḥ (no'su-) asura, vasoh pradakṣayitā manasaḥ, (kila, (-ā-) asma-(-ar-) -ṛṣeḥ *puṇyatamaśya, viśvataḥ(-to's-) asma-netuḥ(-r) vasu-manasvataḥ).

1 ... kila, katarah(-s) tayoh pracaratoḥ parasparam etāvat(-d) mūlādā-rabhiya pratiyadhyatoḥ ; — katarah(-s) svavratena tatcataḥ (-to'sma) asma-svastim ihāmātra (-e-), ihaloke paraloke, bhūyīṣṭham nirvūhakatarah (-o's) asti, osat, tothā ca katarah(-a) ubhayoh(-or) gurvaḥ thatarah (*yamānayoh(?)).

18. mā ki(-s?), -ḥ(-r) *āt(-d) vaḥ(-s-) tāsya dhvārataḥ (man-trān) asma-dharma-śatroḥ(-or) mantrān upa-śroṣata(-āt)*, śāsa-nāni (śāsān(-ñca) ; —

(b) ā hi ((-yasau* dhvarāḥ(-ā)) * mānān, viśān vā, kṣetrañ vā, dasyuñ** vā (asma-kṣetra-deśam), ādhāt(-d)

(c) durīte(-au, -ā) māreca(-ā-) ; — addhā (-e-) **īns(?) **īnr(?) imān (-ñś) śasta* (asinā) śnathanena (asma-cetārah(-a) iva śnathi-tārah).

*1 We need a form to equal the med. *sūzdūm*, would it be a *śas* + dhvam* = *śodhvam ?

17. Which (of the two conflicting sides) believes the more prevailing (greater)*¹ thing ; (is it our) saint, or the faithless foe-man ? (Let then our questionings cease.) Let the enlightened (alone) speak to the enlightened ; — let not the ignorant (further) deceive us, (high though he may lift his voice).^{*2} Be^{*3} Thou Thyself), O Ahura Mazda ! Thy Good Mind's full revealer.*

*1 Possibly *mazyō* has the sense of *mazīsta* in chap. XLIX. 1. There 'the most prevailing' seems to be the proper rendering.

*2 See verse 12.

*3 Or 'declare (it) to us' to ind. *ah* = 'to say'. O Ahura Mazda, as thy Good Mind's (Thy Good-minded One's) full revealer'.

*4 Notice the force of the expressions, — they might be used to-day under similar circumstances ; — no light is allowed to the infidel ; — 'he is a blind leader of the blind'.

18. (And you, ye assembled throngs,) let not one of you lend a hearing to Manthra, or command of that infidel*¹ (ignorant*² as he is), (b, c) for home, village, region, and province he would place in ruin, and death. (But fly ye to arms without hearing, — and) hew ye them all with the halberd !*³⁺⁴

*1 Jolly, 'Keiner von euch höre auf die Lieder und Gebote des Lügners'. So also Roth, 'Rath und Befehle'.

*2 Compare *evīdvā* in verse 17.

*3 The Pahlavi *sāzēd snaiš*, 'prepare ye the sabre', 'sharpen the blade'. It was however a two-handed weapon ; — see Y. LVI. 12, 4 (Sp.).

*4 Notice that the victory of the Holy Cause by no means assured, — a highly characteristic particular of much historical importance ; — the least concession to the opposing party might bring on civil and domestic ruin. It was no warfare of words. Notice the closeness of the expected contemporaneous action — an acute and imminent crisis is indicated.

19. sroṣāt(-d)* (asma-śiṣyaḥ(-o 's-) asya (-ā-) asma-(¹āṛ-)-
rṣeh(-r))*¹ yaḥ(-yo'manta) amanta (-ar-) ṛtam (asma-dharma-
saṁ(n)kalpam)asubhiḥ(-r) (janartham), vidvān, asura, —

(b) rju-(-ū-)-uktāya*vacasām kshayamāṇaḥ(-no)jihvā*-vaśāḥ*,

(c) tvā (tvayā** (?) tvadiyayā) atharyā śukhrayā, sumedhaḥ
((-dho'bhi) abhi-vi-śvāsitaḥ(-ta) utsāhitaḥ prabravīti, tayoh
(-or) arañayoh(-or) manah(-o)-lābha(-ā-)-artham), sumedhaḥ
(-dho), vasau (vivāda-samādhāna(-ā-)-artham atharyā) vidhitayā*²
(-ā-)arañayoh (arañyoh(-or* (?) vā). (*ukthāya.))

*1 Or ' Ahura as inspiring the *Rṣi*'.

*2 Has *vidatha* = 'assembly' anything to do here? = 'for the sake of the
congregation in the assembly'. Or is the Av. form loc. to a **vīdāti*?

*5 See note on verse 3. and read as alternative 'from the two *arāni*'. Notice
the curious allusion to 'free speech' at such a date.

That we have here any immediate allusion to the later inexplicable (insane)
Nirang-i-var is not possible. Some peculiarity in the success of the fire-sticks
may, however, be here referred to. If the fire came quickly, it might have been
regarded as an especially significant omen, if not even a proof of inspiration.
The mere fact that the fire was kindled at all by the priest made it sacrosanct.
It is again with the greatest reluctance that I disagree with Haug's brilliant
suggestion. We have 'through the Fire encouraged he speaks, given forth for
the good of the two parties', or 'given forth in the two good *arāni*, fire-sticks';
yet see *āsayā* = 'of the two parties' above in strophe 3.

20. yaḥ (yo dveṣi pratipakṣi) dhāyāt (dheyāt ((-d), asma-
śiṣyam) ṛtāvanam) dabhn(u)vānam*¹, — (yaḥ (-a) imam abhi-dro-
heṇa dambhayet(-d))*¹, yaḥ (ya) imam dambhayamānam, kila,

*1 *dabya* (W.).

19. Let them hear Him*¹ who conceived Asha (the Holy Law) for the folk,*² who is the Wise One, O Mazda Ahura. For the truthspeak-er (of Thy creed) (he speaks) ruling with absolute sway over words, with tongue at-His-Will (and free) (to guide us in our way). By Thy shining flame*³ (He doth guide us, Thine altar's flame with its signs of decision and of grace) sent forth for the good of the strivers.*⁴

*¹ According to the grammatical forms the agent here should be a divine being, as *ye mantī* (see verse 7) is characteristic of the Deity. The vocative, strange as it may seem, does not necessarily exclude Ahura, as the subject referred to in *ye*. Several analogous cases occur. The Deity may here, however, represent His prophet, as the Dāēvas do their worshippers here and in the later Avesta. Such obscurities are characteristic in the Gāthas everywhere, and constitute a marked 'curiosity in literature'. Some writers force the language into a reference to the human subject for the sake of the greatly to be desired simplicity.

*² Some writers read '*ahumbiš-*' = 'healing the world', but the *-bhi* of *bhiṣaj(-k)* might be from *abhi-* (?).

*³ Compare chap. XXX, 2. 'Behold ye the flames with the better mind'; possibly, also chap. XXX, 1. 'the signs in the lights seen friendly'. No reference to the later insane *Nirang-i-rar*. So reading *-dhūi vacanām*.

*⁴ One places Ahura in the instrumental, a case in which the Almighty seldom appears. The above translation needs no alternative, as the language would be the same whoever '*ye*' refers to.

20. (But, O ye listening men !) he who renders the saint deceived,*¹ for him shall be later destruction.*² Long life shall be his in the darkness ; foul shall be his food ; — his

*¹ I follow the admirable lead of the Pahlavi here, as the previous verse mentions 'veracity'. Its indication is *pavan frīfīšn'*, — so freely.

*² I differ with diffidence from the hint of the Pahlavi here (as elsewhere). It has *šīran* = 'tears', which however is free for 'calamity' and 'sorrow'. Nom. sing. ; see its position.

pratipakṣiṇaṁ, abhiṣaṁkuryāt), *se*^{*1} (?)* (asmai dveṣiṇe prāti-pakṣiṇe) prakalpyate(-yiṣyate('p-)) aparaṁ kṣayaḥ(-o)*²,

(b) dīrgham āyuraṁ (daṇḍa-nīrantaraṁ) tamasaḥ (-si), *dur-bhojanaṁ (viṣam evam), avastāt (-d) vacaḥ(-o) (nāraka (-ā-) avaroktaṁ) ; —

(c) taṁ vaḥ (vo's-) asuṁ, (haye) dhvarantaḥ (pāpāḥ(-ś), cyautnaiḥ(-s) svaiḥ(-r)* (yuṣmadiyaṁ) dhyānaṁ neṣat (sampra-neṣyati).

*1 Av. *hōi* (= *he*) = a Skt. ***se* (?) presents a strange analogy with *mōi* (*me*) = Skt. *me*.

*2 *khṣayam* to *khṣi* = 'destroy'.

21. sumedhāḥ(-ā) dadhāt(-d) asuraḥ((-ś śiraḥ(-ś)-śarma) sarvatāteḥ(-s) (svasteḥ(-ś) cit (-ech-)) śarīravatyāḥ(-ā) manasmayā-yāḥ(-ā), amṛtatvasya ca (dīrgha-jīvaṁ sukham, ihāmutra(-e-) ihaloke paraloke),

(b) bhūreḥ(-r) ā (-ar-), ṛtāsya ca (-ā-) (asma-puṇya-dharma-ṇaḥ) svapatyāt* (svarājāḥ(-ś) śakteḥ) kṣatrasya śiraḥ(-(-ś)-śarmaca

(c) vasoḥ(-or) **vadhar (*vadhaḥ(-o), vājaṁ) manasaḥ (-so'sm-) asmaḥ yaḥ (-s) **se(?) (asmaḥ) manyunā (nirbandhena ūṣmaṇā) cyautnaiḥ(-ś) ca vratyaḥ ((-o's-asat), kila, yaḥ (yo'sya) asya) sevītā satyena hrdayabhaktiḥ(-r) dr̥ṣya(-ā-)te).

*1 For the difficult suffix to *vazdvar*(e), we must think first of the rare suffix -*vas* = *var* as in *śikvas*, *phvas*, then of a possible -*dhvar* (l); — for Av. *vazd* see *vazdaṁha* in a 'favouring' sense; but is Av. *vazd-* not indian *vadh* before the dental. 'd', 'dh'? Recall the *radhar* (= *radhaḥ*) of Indra. — *vājam*, however, renders its point with sufficient clearness.

speech shall be of the lowest.*¹ And this, which is such a life *² as your own, O ye false ! your (perverted) conscience through your own deeds will bring*³ you !*⁴

*¹ The Pahlavi *anūk rūbišnīh* yemalelūnēd*. This, placed together with such passages as XLVI, 11, XLIX, 11, and LI, 13, formed the basis for the more complete Yast XXII, where the damned man's soul reviles him.

*² Others prefer 'place', but see *āyū* in line b.

*³ 'Has led on' ? Notice that the 'evil' can have a *daēna*. NB.

*⁴ This is one of those passages which make Avesta the 'document' of subjective recompense, as one of the originals of all later similar passages outside the Gāthas.

21. But Ahura Mazda will give the shielding-headship of His own Sovereign Power (from Himself to His faithful) with the fulness of Weal, Deathless-long-life,*¹ and of Asha (as His Holy Law); — (and He will likewise give) the Good Mind's (Good-Minded One's) vigorous might to him who in Spirit and Truth is His friend.

*¹ That Ameretatāt means more than long life is clear from *ameša*.

*² *Afaš nafšu patīh*. The Gāthic would be more literally perhaps 'from His own Dominion'.

*³ Pahlavi *sardārīh*.

*⁴ *Vazdvarīh* ; Ser. *pīvaratvam*.

*⁵ Fidelity in friendship. One naturally thinks of *vratha* (*vratha*), as having something of the sense of *vratyā*. Hübschmann, *Casuslehre*, s. 259, 'der durch Gesinnung und Thaten sich ihm als freund erweist.'

*⁶ Notice *mainyū* unquestionably in this profounder sense.

*⁷ It is impossible to confine these allusions to mere party feeling; — this was of course prominently present, but not to the exclusion of really personal religious experience.

22. citrāṇi(-ī-) (?) (īmāni viśvāni santi) *sudhāse (asma-(-ar-)-rṣaye viśvasukṛte) yathā na*(?) (yathārtham*) *vedamānāya manasā

(b) vasunā ; — svaḥ (saḥ) kṣatreṇa (asma-(-ai-)-aiśvarya-pramāṇena, asma-balena ca viśvataḥ(-to), nīti-sainyena (-ar)-ṛtam (asma-puṇya-pakṣa-pantbānam, mārgam) vacasā, cyaut-nena (svakāryeṇa dharma (-ā-) anuṣaṅgeṇa ca) sapti ; —

(c) svaḥ (saḥ) te, sumedhaḥ(-dho) mahādāhāḥ (-ā-) asura, ojiṣṭhaḥ (-ṭho 'rtha-) artha-nirvāhakatamaḥ (-o's-) asati(-y) **āsthitiḥ(-r), astiḥ(-s ?), (tvadīyaḥ(-o) sevītā bhūyīṣṭham abhiṣṭi-kṛt, -bhṛt*).

*1 For Av. *āstīš*, *ā + sthiti-* occurs first to me in the sense of 'stand by'. Then we must not forget that *asti* = 'bone' is used for 'person'; — see *asthān-vant-*, — whether there is an '*asti*' in the sense of 'person', 'being', seems doubtful; — at all events it is a late use of *asti*. — yet see *su-asti*.

Not only is the momentous*1 question not yet clearly decided, — but we see that the party-organization of each side was in full shape. The hostile side were as fully organized as the Zoroastrian, with a rival candidate for the throne. The opposing regulations are even referred to under the apparently sacred name of '*vata*', meaning the 'entire mass of the religious statutes including doctrines'.

Though our work is essentially the religious-historical, we are

*1 It involved the entire future of the Persian Faith. Would that Religion continue to be almost identical with the Indian D(a)eva-worship, or would it be the worship of Ahura and His attributes in their grand simplicity and deep interior moral significance?

22. To the wise are these things clear as to the one with his mind discerning (not blinded by the perverter).^{*1} With Thy Good Mind and Thy Sovereign Power he follows Thy Law in his words and his actions. And to Thee, O Ahura Mazda ! he shall be a most helpful and vigorous being^{*2} (for he serves with every power) !

^{*1} So according to frequent indications; — see above.

^{*2} *tan' aīv', astiš twice translated. Ser. : Sa te — mitram asti niveditatanuh.*

^{*2} This XXXI is a deeply interesting document from every point of view, seeming to direct its points as much to the religious-political issue, as to the personal character of the leader regarded as the typical believer. What was there like it elsewhere at its date ? It vividly depicts a sharp collision of interests, almost reminding us of a modern struggle.

not at liberty to refrain from drawing just conclusions also as to those secular elements which the hymns so inevitably portray ; — and this Yasna XXXI seems to show in an exceptionally vivid manner the state of society, civil as well as military and religious, amidst which it was composed.

First, it could not have been put together for any sparsely settled district of wide extent without a centre. Every strophe shows the glow of controversy ; — parties were at close quarters, while the rival leaders harangued their audiences, and not merely the rhapsodists. — Property was acutely involved, — real estate itself was not safe ; — and bloody conflicts were actually urged on. This forms an historical picture without a

possibility of uncertainty. Though we cannot be sure of the precise locality, we are forced to inquire into all the probabilities. The towns mentioned in Vendīdād point rather more to the East, but Yasna XIX names Ragha in such a manner as to make it evident that Ragha was a teeming centre of Zarathushtrianism, as it remains to-day a centre of the persecuted remnant. The expressions are not very extended, but they are both of a startling and convincing character.

Here, then, is an obviously genuine fragment of one of the crises in the religious history of early Persia, and of all that this religion meant for the world. These who linger at Rai, Rages, Ragha may feel that we have here before us one of the echoes of its early struggles which first rescued Iran from the old idolatries.

A study of the
Five Zarathushtrian (Zoroastrian)
Gâthâs,

with
text, translations, etc.

(being the first attempt as yet made to treat the subject with full
exhaustion of materials),

i. e. with the

Pahlavi translation for the first time edited with collation of manuscripts,
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edited, transliterated, corrected and collated

together with

a commentary, and dictionary,

being the enlarged literary apparatus and argument to the translation of the
Gâthâs in the XXXIst volume of the Sacred Books of the East,

by

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* Lawrence H. Mills, *A Study of the Five Zarathushtrian Gâthâs*, 1894 . . . and the *Zend Avesta*, Part III, the *Yasna*, &c., in the '*Sacred Books of the East*', Vol. XXXI, Oxford, 1887. — Professor F. JUSTI in the *Preussisches Jahrbuch*, 1897, p. 68^r *Sonderabdruck*.

Mills, Lawrence H., A Study of the Five Zarathushtrian (Zoroastrian) Gâthâs with texts and translations, also with the Pahlavi translation . . . with Nêryôsangh's Sanskrit text . . . also with the Persian text . . . together with a commentary . . . Leipsic, 1894, pp. XXX, 622. 4°.

„ . . . Wer heute im Avesta selbständig und mit Erfolg arbeiten will, muss sich die gesamte Tradition dienstbar machen. Das hat Mills in seinem Werke: '*A Study of the Five Zarathushtrian (Zoroastrian) Gâthâs*' an dem schwierigsten und dunkelsten Teile des Avesta gethan. Er giebt erst den Text in Originalschrift, im ersten Theile bis p. 153 und im dritten Theile bei *Yasna* 51 u. 53 auch in lateinischer Umschrift; dann folgt eine wörtliche lateinische Uebersetzung, der Pahlavixtext und dessen Uebersetzung, *Nêryôsangh's* Text in Umschrift und Uebersetzung, der Text einer modernen *Pârsi*-Uebersetzung des Pahlavixtextes in Umschrift und eine freie englische Uebersetzung des Grundtextes. Der vierte Theil p. 393 bis 622 enthält einen ausführlichen Commentar, der als Erläuterung dienen soll zu der Uebersetzung der *Gâthas*, die Mills in den *Sacred Books of the East* Vol. XXXI gegeben hat. Theil 1 und 4 waren schon 1892 ausgegeben worden.

„Mills' Werk, das Ergebnis langjähriger, mühe- und entsagungsvoller Arbeit, vereinigt bis auf ein Wörterbuch das in Aussicht gestellt wird, alles, was für die Erklärung der *Gâthas* notwendig ist. Man mag im einzelnen noch so viel abweichen, immer wird es die Grundlage bilden, auf der sich jede weitere Forschung aufbauen muss. Mills hat mit ihm der Avestaforschung einen hervorragenden Dienst geleistet, und es gebührt ihm dafür der wärmste Dank und die vollste Anerkennung.

„Halle (Saale),

R. Pischel.“

(*Zeitschrift der D. M. G.* July, 1896.)

'Beyond question the leading authority, now living, on the *Gâthas*'
the *Nation*. Aug. 30, 1906. (Dr. Gray).

The Vision of Haoma to Zaratustra.

Trl. At the havanī ratu ¹ ** Imperfect proofsheets.

Haoma came to Zaratustra
while (ritually) cleansing ²
[about] the (sacred) Fire
and intoning the Gāthas ³.

¹ The havanī-ratu (prayer-time) was from six to ten A. M.

² He was not merely removing soil, but engaged in initial sacrificial work.

³ For the free critical rendering see SBE. XXXI, pp. 230—235 (1887), which I still regard as the best possible form for the general presentation of this Yasht, preserving, as it does, the rhythm.

Nēr.'s sansk. Text. [(Heading.) Hūmastūmasya [-stomasya] mūlam. Hūmasya muktijananeḥ sanmānakṛtaye kila, ānandakṛtaye, ārād'anāya namaskaraṇāya, mānanāya, prakāśanāya; pūrvoktivat jñātavyam.]

Yašt. Hāuanāyāḥ gurutāyām ⁵ [kila, hāuanasand'yāyām] hūmaḥ upeyivān jaratūštram [prāptavān] ⁽²⁾ agniṁ paritaḥ pāvayantam, [kila, agniṣtānam parivartulam snāpitum abīpsantam] gāt'āśča samudgirantam [tat aśim vohūtrayam bruvānam yat p'rauarāṇe ⁵ prāk].**

** The various restorations of Burnouf and Spiegel are mostly good. The Mss. show débris. It would be mere affectation to report the irrational variants here.

[**Nēr.'s Introduction Trl.** The beginning of the Hūma-praise-song (Yašt). To the honouring^{1*}, that is to say, for the rejoicing, for the sacrificing-to, for the homage-making-worship, for the venerating-consideration¹, for the celebrating praise of Hūma the holy (lit. free-*of-birth) ², etc. to be understood as aforesaid (i. e. as above)³.]

Nēr.'s Yašt. trl. In the ratu ⁴ of Hāuanā, [that is to say, in the time of the Hāuanā] Hūma came* toward Jaratūštra* [came up to him], cleaning around the fire, [that is to say, wishing to wash around the fire-place], and chanting the Gāthas, [and (also) saying that three-fold aśim vohū which is ⁵ before ⁵ the p'rauarāṇe ⁵].

¹ Namaskaraṇa corresponding to niyāyeṣṇ, gave us our accepted rendering for as *'praise'; mānanā should correspond to snāyēnitari and xšnaoθra. Prakāśana represents a frāz afriganth in the sense of 'celebrating praise' as in frasastayaēča.

² 'Free' seems peculiar to Nēr.'s kind of Sanskrit. He uses muktātman for abarūv'.

³ Referring to previous occurrences in the Yasna.

⁴ Gurutā is used by Nēr. apparently to imitate a leading definition of ratu; but, as the gloss shows, he means a ritualistic division of time.

⁵ My instinct would be to regard 'p'rauarāṇe (so J.*)' prāk as a quasi-compositum; but see the note upon the Pahl.

Parsi-pers. text. transit. Pah havan ratih pah havan gāh hōm avar raft (ān) zartušt (2) pah ātas [gāh] pirāmūn ya Eni paw-u-paw-yād-¹ mi-kard [] klis ān i ašem vehi (sic) i III (si) guft mūn (sic for kih) irarūni (sic for fravarānē) pah pēs.

¹ 'Attending to' the cleaning?; yād however may not have been meant; yet what could bād (or—?) mean here?

I.

The Anthem (beginning) with "Ustâ".

Free tr. Praise to you, the sacred Gâthâs!

Salvation to this one, to this one whomsoever,

Let the absolute Mazda give it, He Ahura; *** imperfect proof-sheet

Long-lasting strength be ours; of Thee I ask it.

For the upholding Right, this, Piety*, vouchsafe us,

Distinctions*, blest rewards, the Good Mind's life.

(Rhythm only is attempted, heavy syllables sometimes counting as two.)

shahib. ⁷ DJ. ghal. ⁸ all tvaskhishnô, or tûkh^o. ⁹ D. î. ¹⁰ ins. î. ¹¹ D. om. ¹² D. om. zak î; DJ. om. î. ¹³ corrected; DJ. râyê-l^o. ¹⁴ D. om. î. ¹⁵ see P. ¹⁶ Zend. char. = 'hya

Pahl. irl. Pra'se to you, O Holy Gâthâs. Happy* is that one for whomsoever (oblique by position) *is* that which *is* that happiness, [that is, for every man *there is* happiness from his happiness. Some say that this benefit is his from this Religion, even from the Religion which is the benefit of every single person [individually]]. (b) Aûharmazd also grants *it* to him according to the sovereignty of *His* desire (or 'pavan-kâmak-shâlîtâih as compos =. 'He who exercises authority at will'), [*i. e.* according to his desire]; (c) *and He grants**¹(?) the energy of the powerful *ones* (or 'energy which *consists** of* powerful characteristics*'), [the strength of (or 'which *is*') powerful *qualities*]; *they are* a desire to (*i. e.* *desired by*) me in their coming from thee. (d) That which *is* the giving of the possession (or 'maintenance') of Sanctity, [that which they shall give me as* a reward, the possession (or 'maintaining') of Sanctity], that may Spendarmad give me, (e) and that which is that glorious thing which *is* the venerating* (*recognition** (?)) [discipleship (?)], and life in accordance with a good mind, [that is, may no life-extinction be mine].

*¹ Or tûkhshishnô î t^o. are governed by the force of kâmak = vas(e)mî; see the Gâthâ.

Ner.'s sansk. text. Namô yushmabhyâm, he Gâthâh punyâtmanyah!¹ pratyuttaravâk* Hormijdasya; prakṣiptâ vâk Jarathuṣṭrasya. ¹Sundarah sa yasya çubham kebhyaçchit*, [kila, kebhyaçchit* manushyebhyaḥ çubhât* yasya çubham. Asti kaçchit* evam brûte yat çubham Dinitah; Dinitah sarvasya kasyachit* çubham]? (b) Aśya svechchayâ (so) rājyaṁ Mahājñāni dadāti Svamī, [samihitenâ 'śya], (c) adhyavasāyasya* balavataḥ* prāptau tava kāmāt. (d) Yat* puṇyagrahaṇasya dānaṁ tan mahyaṁ dadātu prithivī, [kila, yaḥ prasādaḥ puṇyasaṁgrahē diyate taṁ mahyaṁ dadātu Spindārnadā] (e) çuddhimate bhaktimate* [çishyāya], uttamaṁ cha jīvitam Manah* [Gvahmano* 'marah], [kila, me apajjivitaṁ** mâ bhūyât]. Dvivāram vāchyo gujastah, etc.

¹ P. ² so J.³, J.⁴, J.⁵ ³ C. adds to this at length. (Sandhi is only intermittingly applied and Sanskrit of every period is used with unusual application)

Ner. transl., etc. Praise to you, O sacred Gâthâs. The answer of Hormijda;

the pure *and* religious *one* [to the disciple, that is, let it be to me no decease]. *This* text is to be repeated twice, etc. (NB. Notice is again given to the student that the translations of the Pahl. and Ner. are throughout rather expositions than translations, as fluent translations of either in the ordinary sense are wholly misleading, and therefore worse than useless; see *Introd.* pp. XIV-XVII, XXV).

Parsi-persian Ms. frt. *Va niyâyishn ân shumâ, Gâsân i ashô! Nêk û kih ân i [nêki har-kudâm, [kû, har-kudâm âdamî az nêki i û nêki * Hast hih êdûn gûyad; in nêki [az [Din [i har kas [nêki], * (b) [pah kâmah pâdishâhi dehad H ormuzd*¹, [pah lâ'ik (?) i û] * (c) Kûshishn i tuvânihâ, [zûr [kûvatihâ] ma-râ pah rasad* (?) az Tû kâmah * (d) Ân i Şavâb dâshtan dehad [ân i [ma-râ = am] pah [Şavâb dâshtan bih dehand], [ân man dehâd Spendarmad * (e) An i rûzmand, i bandagî [shâgird = âhavisht] [[ân man] pah Bahman jân [dehad (sic) = ân ra pavan Vohû-) mân adâ (sic pro khayâ) dâbûna(ê)d* (sic)], kûm [[bâz*-(?) = dûz*-(? dūr*-) -jân nah bâshad * *¹Ôr° (?). (NB. *v* is used for *w* in this Gâthâ; see note on page 2, Parsi-p.)*

Free tr. And to*¹ this one that best of all things (*¹ or 'for')
May that the glorious man bestow*², the glory; (*² or 'obtain')
Reveal* Thou, Lord, to us with*¹ Spirit bounteous (*¹ or 'O spirit bounteous')
What truths by Right* Thou giv'st, and Good Mind's wisdom,
With life's rejoicing* increase and on every day.

Pahl. trl., etc. Thus also that which is of every kind the best, (b) the beatitude (not merely 'the welfare') is to be give to* (?) the beatified man [as a reward]; (c) do Thou therefore make manifest, [i. e. do Thou declare who the glorified (or 'beatified') man is (so in this erroneous gloss), for through Thee is his manifestation], O bountiful Spirit who *art*, (or 'Spirit of') Aûharmazd, [that is, Thou understandest who the glorious (or 'beatified') man *is*]; (d) and *do Thou also make manifest* what Ye* give (or 'he gives') as just (or 'aright') in accordance with (or 'as') a good mind's regulation, [i. e. the Religion] (e) during every day as the joyful-minded giving-on* of a long life.

Ner.'s sansk. text. *Evam cha tasmai viçvebhya*¹ utkrishṭatarāya (b) çubhamate* narāya, çubhami pradātavyam, [prasādaḥ], (c) Tvam prakāçaya, [kila, Tvam brūhi yat çubhamān naraḥ kaḥ], Tvam mahattaraḥ* adriçya-mûrtir*, Mahājñānin, [kila, Tvam jānāsi yat çubhamān naraḥ kaḥ], (d) yo dadāti satyam uttamena pramāṇam manasā [Diniṁ] (e) viçveshu vāsareshu dīrghajīvitatayā** utsavaśya datā. ¹ So J.*, P. C.*

Ner. transl. (a, b) And so to this man more excellent than all *and* beatified (or 'glorious(?)') happiness (or 'glory(?)') is to be given [the reward]; (c) do Thou therefore manifest, [that is, do Thou declare, who the beatified man is], Thou the greater[-est] Spirit, O Great Wise *One*, [i. e. *it is* Thou *who* knowest who the beatified man is], (d) who gives the true regulation



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